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DEMOSTHENIS

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ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

DEMOSTHENIS

PRO CTESIPHONTE

DE CORONA ORATIO

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

B. DRAKE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SIXTH EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE TO SIXTH EDITION.

THE first edition of Mr Drake's Demosthenes *de Corona* appeared in 1851. In 1860, after his death, a new edition was published to which the companion-speech of Aeschines *in Ctesiphontem*, with English notes, was prefixed, but the notes to Demosthenes underwent very slight alteration.

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Lord Brougham's translation, of Mr Shilleto's edition of the *De Falsa legatione*, and of an excellent translation of the *De Corona* by Mr Norris, Fellow of Trinity College." In the present revision Rehdantz's Indexes have been very useful, and the editions of Westermann, Holmes, Simcox, and Weil, the Etymological Dictionary of Vaniçek, and Krueger's Greek Grammar, have been consulted.

A comparison of the text with that of Voemel will be found on pp. xvii ff.

The *De Falsa Legatione* being generally quoted for the sake of Mr Shilleto's notes, Bekker's sections are given, to which he always refers, and the ordinary sections are added in brackets.

The reviser hopes to bring out early in the present year a new edition of Aeschines *in Ctesiphontem*, to be followed at some future time by a completer revision of Mr Drake's Demosthenes *de Corona* with additional notes.

T. GWATKIN.

CAMBRIDGE,
January, 1880.

INTRODUCTION.

It is not intended in the present notice to give more than a very general account of the origin and history of the speeches of Aeschines *in Ctesiphontem* and Demosthenes *de Corona.*

For ampler details the Student will consult the histories of Thirlwall and Grote, the life of Demosthenes in Smith's *Biographical Dictionary*, and other eminent authorities.

A few remarks, however, on the immediate causes of the two orations, and on their general character, will not perhaps be out of place.

The year B. C. 338, as is well known, witnessed the disastrous battle of Chaeronea, and the destruction of the liberties of Greece[1], which became henceforth a province of the Macedonian monarchy. Nothing could exceed the consternation with which the news of the terrible reverse was received at Athens, one thousand Athenian citizens had fallen on the fatal field, two thousand more remained in the hands of Philip as prisoners[2].

Almost every one under the ages of twenty and fifty, able to bear arms, had been sent out to take part in the late engagement, and scarcely any remained to defend the

[1] "Hic dies universae Graeciae et gloriam dominationis et vetustissimam libertatem finivit." Justin. IX. 3.

[2] Grote's *Greece*, XI. 306.

city save those incapable of active service, the aged and infirm. At this juncture Demosthenes, who was still listened to with undiminished confidence, exerted himself with more than his usual energy, to do all that was possible towards putting the city in a posture of defence. As Commissioner for the repair of the walls he set himself with all activity to strengthen the defences of the City, and expended upon the work, from his own resources, a hundred minae, some accounts say three talents, more than had been allowed him out of the public treasury.

In the autumn or winter of 337—336 B.C.[1], when the apprehensions of the citizens had been removed in consequence of the moderation and clemency of Philip, Ctesiphon, a political admirer of Demosthenes, brought in a bill before the council of Five Hundred, proposing that the services of the orator should be publicly recognised and particularly his large private contributions for the public use. The Bill was approved, and a decree came down to the popular Assembly declaring it to be the will of the Council and People of Athens that "Demosthenes should be presented with a golden crown in requital of his public services," and that proclamation of the same should be made in the theatre, at the Great Dionysian Festival.

Such a proposition was of course tantamount to a direct condemnation of the policy of the Macedonian party. And the opposition thus naturally called forth took the shape of an indictment of Ctesiphon for illegality (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*).

The indictment was entrusted to Aeschines, the second of Athenian orators, and the determined foe of Demosthenes, who attacked the bill of Ctesiphon on the following grounds :—

First, because it was illegal to confer a crown upon any person who had an account to render of his official

[1] Grote, XII. 108.

conduct; and Demosthenes both as a Conservator of walls and as treasurer of the Theoric fund was amenable to such a scrutiny.

Secondly, because it was unlawful to proclaim the honour of a crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies; inasmuch as the law required, that, if the Council gave a crown, it should be proclaimed in the Council-Hall; if the people, in the *Pnyx* at the popular assembly.

Thirdly, because it was untrue that Demosthenes deserved any public commendation; and to make false allegations in a State document was contrary to law.

On these grounds Aeschines rested his indictment against Ctesiphon for proposing unconstitutional measures. But, though begun coincidently with the passing of the decree, the prosecution itself was suffered to lie dormant for more than six years, i.e. from B.C. 337 to 330.

These seven years had been prolific in important events. Philip had died, and been succeeded by his son Alexander; the battles of the Granicus, Issus, and Arbela had all been fought; a Macedonian youth sat on the throne of Darius: and that supremacy, which all his life long Demosthenes had exerted himself to oppose, was no less triumphant in Asia than in Greece.

The much desired opportunity had come at last; and all the political passions of the Macedonian party, as well as the private animosity of Aeschines, concentrated themselves in a determined and final effort to put down their great antagonist.

The public prosecution of Ctesiphon excited the intensest interest not only at Athens but throughout the whole of Greece. Greeks from every state and foreigners from all parts flocked to hear the speeches of the two most renowned orators in the world. The interest of Ctesiphon in the trial was merely nominal. The whole policy

and administration of Demosthenes was to be arraigned and impeached. And before a jury of no less than five hundred, and "a dense and breathless audience," Aeschines commenced his attack[1].

(*a*) In support of the first count in the indictment he brings forward a law which distinctly forbade the bestowal of a crown upon any one who had held a magisterial office before he had passed the usual scrutiny.

It might, indeed, be urged that the office which Demos-

[1] Perhaps the best introduction to the speech may be given in the words of Cicero himself, in the treatise *De optimo genere oratorum* (which is considered genuine by the best critics): "Quum esset lex Athenis, NE QUIS POPULI SCITUM FACERET, UT QUISQUAM CORONA DONARETUR IN MAGISTRATU PRIUS QUAM RATIONES RETTULISSET; et altera lex, EOS, QUI A POPULO DONARENTUR, IN CONTIONE DONARI DEBERE; QUI A SENATU, IN SENATU, Demosthenes curator muris reficiendis fuit eosque refecit pecunia sua; de hoc igitur Ctesiphon scitum fecit, nullis ab illo rationibus relatis, ut corona aurea donaretur eaque donatio fieret in theatro, populo convocato, qui locus non est contionis legitimae, atque ita praedicaretur, EUM DONARI VIRTUTIS ERGO BENEVOLENTIAEQUE, QUAM IS ERGA POPULUM ATHENIENSEM HABERET. Hunc igitur Ctesiphontem in iudicium adduxit Aeschines, quod contra leges scripsisset, ut et rationibus non relatis corona donaretur et ut in theatro, et quod de virtute eius et benevolentia falsa scripsisset, quoniam Demosthenes nec vir bonus esset nec bene meritus de civitate. Causa ipsa abhorret illa quidem a formula consuetudinis nostrae, sed est magna. Habet enim et legum interpretationem satis acutam in utramque partem et meritorum in rem publicam contentionem sane gravem. Itaque causa fuit Aeschini, quum ipse a Demosthene esset capitis accusatus, quod legationem ementitus esset, ut ulciscendi inimici causa nomine Ctesiphontis iudicium fieret de factis famaque Demosthenis. Non enim tam multa dixit de rationibus non relatis, quam de eo, quod civis improbus ut optimus laudatus esset." c. VII. §§ 19—21.

thenes had held did not come within the terms of the Statute, being an inferior employment. But, by the law of Athens, any office conferred by the people, whether it concerned the superintendence of public works, or the distribution of public moneys, was to be regarded as magisterial, and as subject to the scrutiny. Now Demosthenes had been a Commissioner of public works, he had been elected to that office by the Pandionian tribe according to the terms of a decree of the people, he had been entrusted with the disbursement of ten talents of the public money, he had, moreover, been appointed treasurer of the Theoric fund by a decree of the people. He was clearly amenable, therefore, to the provisions of the Statute, and whether the moneys he had expended came from the public fund, or from private sources, made no material difference; nothing could exempt him from the law of the democracy that no magisterial office should be irresponsible.

(*b*) Proceeding to the second count in the indictment, he supports it by a Statute enacting that if the Council conferred a crown, it must be proclaimed in the Council Chamber, if the people, in the Assembly, and in no other place. Nor was this done without a purpose. Its object was to prevent the ostentatious display before foreigners of these honours, which only concerned the members of the Commonwealth. Now this Statute too had been infringed by Ctesiphon in his anxiety to parade the honours of Demosthenes at the Dionysian festival, before the large numbers then assembled.

The arguments of Aeschines on these two points constitute the strongest part of his attack. Here he was safe; and in dealing with the specific violations of Athenian law of which Ctesiphon had been guilty, he exhibits great skilfulness and care.

(*c*) But this did not content him. Leaving these legal points, he now proceeded to the third count in his indict-

ment against Ctesiphon, to shew that Demosthenes was utterly undeserving of any public commendation whatever. This involved a review of the entire political career of his rival. He divides his public life into four distinct periods, and endeavours to prove that in each and all of them, so far from deserving praise of his country, the conduct of Demosthenes was open to the severest censure. "And here," observes Mr Kennedy, "the reader who carefully examines the speech of Aeschines will not fail to observe, that he betrays a consciousness of weakness. He seems to feel that he is speaking in opposition to the general feeling of his hearers. His own character as a politician had been so dubious, his conduct so open to suspicion, that while he most bitterly assails his adversary, he is constantly under the necessity of defending himself. On the whole life, public and private, of Demosthenes, he pours a torrent of invective; to this the greater part of his speech is devoted: yet he seems to have been impelled to it rather by hate and revenge, than by any calculation of advantage[1]."

On the conclusion of the speech of the prosecutor, and after a few words *pro formâ* from Ctesiphon, Demosthenes commenced his reply. Knowing his weakness as to the legal questions, he dexterously throws them into the middle of his speech, and strives to divert the attention of the Court from these technical points to the vindication of his own merits as a statesman. He makes it his chief object to shew that the credit of the state itself was inseparably bound up with his own, and impresses upon the minds of the jury that the question really at issue was this, whether himself or Aeschines were more worthy of their confidence; not whether Ctesiphon had or had not violated the laws.

[1] *Introduction to the Translation of Demosthenes on the Crown*, by C. R. Kennedy, p. 6.

Refusing to comply with the crafty demand of Aeschines that he should take the counts of the indictment in the same order as his accuser, he chooses freely such topics as pleased him in the review of his own political career, and endeavours to shew that "attachment to his country, and earnest anxiety for her welfare, had been his constant and abiding motives of action: that throughout his whole life, in the day of power, in the hour of trial and adversity, these feelings had never deserted him: that this was the test of a good and honest citizen; that by it he ought to be judged[1]."

Such is a brief outline of these two celebrated orations. The one is perhaps as fine a piece of eloquence as was ever unsuccessful, the other, "the unapproachable master-piece of Grecian oratory," satisfies our highest expectations, even when we know that Demosthenes expended his utmost efforts on its composition. "It breathes," writes Thirlwall, "the spirit of that high philosophy which, whether learnt in the schools or from life, has consoled the noblest of our kind in prisons, and on scaffolds, and under every persecution of adverse fortune, but in the tone necessary to impress a mixed multitude with like feeling, and to elevate it for a while into a sphere above its own. There certainly have been few readers in whom it has not left a strong conviction of the speaker's patriotism, if not of his general integrity and political virtue[2]."

[1] Kennedy's *Introduction*, p. 8.

[2] Thirlwall's *Greece*, VII. p. 137. Mr Grote calls the speech "the funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom." "As regards principles and morals it was cited with other orations of Demosthenes (Plut. *in Vit.* c. 13) by the Stoic Panaetius in proof of his assertion, that the great orator always appealed to and based his arguments upon the laws of truth, and justice, and honour, rather than expediency or selfishness." Whiston's *Demosthenes*, p. 336.

"The effect produced by the speech upon an Athenian audience," writes Mr Kennedy, "can be but faintly imagined by us who read it at this distance of time. Although Athens was not then what she had once been; although she was humbled by defeat, shorn of her honours, stripped of her Empire and dependencies, without allies, without resources, without means of resistance to that iron power under which all Greece had succumbed; there was still the remembrance of the past, not yet extinguished by habitual servitude; there were still vague hopes of future deliverance, and a fire of smothered indignation burning in the hearts of the people, ready to burst into a flame at the first favourable opportunity. That such were their feelings is proved by what occurred seven years afterwards upon the death of Alexander; when Athens made one convulsive effort for freedom, ere she finally submitted to her fate. Demosthenes stood before his countrymen, representing all which remained of Athenian dignity and glory. If any man could help them, it was he. His advice had always been steady, and constant; his warnings should have been earlier attended to: but even yet there might be need of him. He was their consolation for the past, their hope for the future. During the progress of his address, such thoughts rushed upon their minds with greater and greater force, till they were elevated above themselves, and all the spirit of their ancestors was for the moment regenerate within them.

"They could forgive him all his egotism and self-praise. It was the praise of a life devoted to their service. Where he lauded his own acts most strongly, he identified them with the glories of his country. Whatever good results might have accrued from his measures, he ascribed the merit less to himself, than to the fortune of Athens, or to the gods, of whom he was but the humble instrument in a righteous cause. His own eloquence would have been of

no avail, had it not touched the true chord of Athenian feeling. Throughout his whole political career he had been supported by the judgment and convictions of the people. Thus he argued, and the people felt it was impossible for them to find him guilty, without passing sentence upon themselves, without condemning the policy which Athens had for a long series of years consistently pursued. The genius of Athens protected her from such disgrace; and by an overwhelming majority, which left the accuser no choice but to retire into exile, a verdict was given for the defendant."

TABLE OF VARIOUS READINGS.

In all cases Baiter and Sauppe bracket the *ψηφίσματα* and other documents as spurious while Voemel does not.

	Baiter and Sauppe. Zurich edition, 1841.	Voemel. Critical edition of 1862.
§ 2	γέγραπται	γέγραπται,
8	[βούλομαι]	βούλομαι
	τῇ τε πόλει	τῇ πόλει
13	πράττοντά με	πράττονθ'
14	κρίσεις, καὶ	κρίσεις πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλ' ἔχουσαι τἀπιτίμια, καὶ
	πρὸς ἐμὲ	πρός με
18	ἅπασιν ἔρις	ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν ἔρις
22	νυνὶ	νῦν
28	τὰ συμφέροντα	τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα
29	ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ	ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ
30	πάντα	πάντα τἀκεῖ
32	ὤμοσε	ὡμολόγησε
	ἀπίωμεν	ἄπιμεν
33	βοηθεῖν	τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν βοηθεῖν
35	ἐὰν	ἄν
36	ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν;	ταῦτα; εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν,
37	στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων	στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων,
39	εἰσαγηοχότας εἰς αὐτά,	εἰσαγηοχότας.
	ποιεῖν, τὴν	ποιεῖν τὴν

	BS	V
40	ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται	ταλαίπωροι Θηβαῖοι κέχρηνται
43	εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ	εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ
47	ἂν ἦν	ἦν
62	φυρομένου,	φυομένου
64	περιεωρακυίας	περιεορακυίας
68	θεωροῦσι	ὁρῶσι
73	βοηδρομιῶνος,	βοηδρομιῶνος...,
75	ἐκ	[ἐκ]
76	οὕτω σὺ	οὕτω καὶ σὺ
77	ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ'	ἔσεσθαι. εἶτ'
79	γεγράφει	γ' ἔγραφεν
84	Ἡγέμονος	Ἡγήμονος
85	ἐὰν	ἂν
87	αὐτῷ	αὐτῷ
88	δούς	διδούς
89	τοὺς τῶν	τῶν
90	ῥήτραν	ῥάτραν
	βοηθήσας	βοηθήσαις
	ἀποκατέστατε	ἀποκατέστασε
91	δεδόχθω	δεδόχθαι
	Ἀθηναίοις	Ἀθαναίοις
	μετὰ	πεδὰ
	ἐκκαιδεκαπήχεις	ἐκκαιδεκαπάχεις
	Βοσπορίῳ	Βοσπόρῳ
	πανηγυρίας	παναγυρίας
	τὼς στεφάνως	τὼ στεφάνω
	ὡς	ὅσοις
	πάντες Ἀθηναίων	πάντες τάν τε Ἀθαναίων
92	Ἐλεοῦντα	Ἐλαιοῦντα
	μεγίστου	μεγίστων
	ἐν τῷ κοινῷ	κοινῷ
94	δόξαν καὶ εὔνοιαν	δόξαν, εὔνοιαν
101	ἐπεχείρησα	ἐπεχείρησ' ἂν
106	συντελειῶν	συντελῶν
107	ἀποφεύγειν	ἀποφυγεῖν
	ἀπελείφθη	ἀπελήφθη

	BS	V
114	οὕτω	οὕτως
117	ἐπέδωκα;	ἐπέδωκα·
	ἦρχον;	ἦρχον·
	κατηγόρεις;	κατηγόρεις.
118	Παιανιᾶ	Παιανιέα
119	γράφῃ	γράφει
120	(ἀναγορεύεσθαι)	εξειναι...εσθαι...
121	αἰσχύνῃ	αἰσχύνει
	ψηφιεῖσθαι;	ψηφιεῖσθαι.
123	καὶ τοῦτο	τοῦτο
	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν
125	ἀπήντηκας;	ἀπήντηκας!
129	Ἐλπίᾳ	Ἐλπίδᾳ
	Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι	καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ
	σε;	σέ,
	ἐργασίας;	ἐργασίας.
131	πολιτεύῃ	πολιτεύει
133	ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν	ἐξεπέμπτ' ἂν
134	προείλεσθε	προείλετο
135	μέλλοντος	λέγοντος
139	οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειοφάγος	οὗτος ἰαμβειογράφος
	ὑπὲρ	περὶ
	ἐν	ἐπὶ
140	ἀνάλωσε	ἀνήλωσε
	ἐκνίψῃ	ἐκνίψει
141	ὦ ἄνδρες	ἄνδρες
142	ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων	οὗτος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῇ
143	ἡγεμών, ὅς	ἡγεμὼν ὅς
	τῶν μεγίστων	μεγίστων
144	ὦ ἄνδρες	ἄνδρες
	θεάσεσθε	θεάσασθε
148	εἰσηγοῖτο	εἰσηγεῖτο
152	ἐκεῖνον	κεῖνον
154	Ἀμφισσεῖς	οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης
155	δεκάτῃ	δέκα
156	ὑπήκουσαν	ὑπήκουον

	BS	V
157	λῷου	Λώου
	πανέμου	Πανήμου
	χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις	χρησόμεθα τοῖς συμβόλοις τοῖς
158	πονηρῶν παρ'	πονηρῶν τῶν παρ'
162	ἀντιλέγοντας	ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς
166	ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.	ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.
167	ἀνανέουσθε	ὄντως ἐποιεῖτε
168	ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα	ὅμως ἀναγκαιότατα
172	ἐκείνη	κείνη
	πόρρωθεν	πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς
173	προσσχόντες	προσχόντες
175	πλήσιον	ἵνα πλήσιον
	ἐπᾶραι	ἐπάραι
	ποιῆσαι	ποιήσαι
	καταπλῆξαι	καταπλήξαι
177	εἰσιν	εἰσὶν
178	ἐὰν (bis)	ἂν (bis)
	'κεῖνοι	κεῖνοι
	ἑαυτοῖς	αὐτοῖς
179	ἀρχῆς ἄχρι	ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι
180	βούλει	βούλει,
	, Βάτταλον	Βάταλον
	τυχόντα	τυχόντα,
	κακῶς	κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος
182	ἀνελπίστως μέγας.	ἀνελπίστως.
185	ὅτι αὐτοῖς	ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς
	'Ελλήνων	προγόνων
186	ἐκγόνοις	ἐγγόνοις
189	αὐτὸν	ἑαυτὸν
190	ἑώρακεν	ἑόρακεν
191	εἰπὲ τίς	εἰπέ, τίς
192	βουλήν·	βουλήν,
193	μάχῃ· ἐν	μάχῃ. ἐν
194	σκηπτὸς μὴ	σκηπτὸς ἢ χειμὼν μὴ
	γέγονε, τί	γέγονεν· τί

	BS	V
114	οὕτω	οὕτως
117	ἐπέδωκα ;	ἐπέδωκα·
	ἦρχον;	ἦρχον·
	κατηγόρεις;	κατηγόρεις.
118	Παιανιᾶ	Παιανιέα
119	γράφῃ	γράφει
120	(ἀναγορεύεσθαι)	εξειναι...εσθαι...
121	αἰσχύνῃ	αἰσχύνει
	ψηφιεῖσθαι;	ψηφιεῖσθαι.
123	καὶ τοῦτο	τοῦτο
	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν
125	ἀπήντηκας;	ἀπήντηκας !
129	Ἐλπίᾳ	Ἐλπίδᾳ
	Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι	καλαμίτῃ ἥρῳ
	σε;	σέ,
	ἐργασίας;	ἐργασίας.
131	πολιτεύῃ	πολιτεύει
133	ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν	ἐξεπέμπτ' ἂν
134	προείλεσθε	προείλετο
135	μέλλοντος	λέγοντος
139	οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειοφάγος	οὗτος ἰαμβειογράφος
	ὑπὲρ	περὶ
	ἐν	ἐπὶ
140	ἀνάλωσε	ἀνήλωσε
	ἐκνίψῃ	ἐκνίψει
141	ὦ ἄνδρες	ἄνδρες
142	ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων	οὗτος ἐλάττων ὑποληφθῇ
143	ἡγεμών, ὃς	ἡγεμὼν ὃς
	τῶν μεγίστων	μεγίστων
144	ὦ ἄνδρες	ἄνδρες
	θεάσεσθε	θεάσασθε
148	εἰσηγοῖτο	εἰσηγεῖτο
152	ἐκεῖνον	κεῖνον
154	Ἀμφισσεῖς	οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης
155	δεκάτῃ	δέκα
156	ὑπήκουσαν	ὑπήκουον

	BS	V
157	λῷου	Λῴου
	πανέμου	Πανήμου
	χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις	χρησόμεθα τοῖς συμβόλοις τοῖς
158	πονηρῶν παρ'	πονηρῶν τῶν παρ'
162	ἀντιλέγοντας	ἀντιλέγοντας ἑαυτοῖς
166	ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.	ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ.
167	ἀνανέουσθε	ὄντως ἐποιεῖτε
168	ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα	ὅμως ἀναγκαιότατα
172	ἐκείνη	κείνη
	πόρρωθεν	πόρρωθεν ἐπιμελῶς
173	προσσχόντες	προσσχόντες
175	πλήσιον	ἵνα πλήσιον
	ἐπᾶραι	ἐπάραι
	ποιῆσαι	ποιήσαι
	καταπλῆξαι	καταπλήξαι
177	εἰσιν	εἰσὶν
178	ἐὰν (bis)	ἂν (bis)
	'κεῖνοι	κεῖνοι
	ἑαυτοῖς	αὐτοῖς
179	ἀρχῆς ἄχρι	ἀρχῆς διὰ πάντων ἄχρι
180	βούλει	βούλει,
	, Βάτταλον	Βάταλον
	τυχόντα	τυχόντα,
	κακῶς	κακῶς ὑποκρινόμενος
182	ἀνελπίστως μέγας.	ἀνελπίστως.
185	ὅτι αὐτοῖς	ὅτι καὶ αὐτοῖς
	Ἑλλήνων	προγόνων
186	ἐκγόνοις	ἐγγόνοις
189	αὐτὸν	ἑαυτὸν
190	ἑώρακεν	ἑόρακεν
191	εἰπὲ τίς	εἰπέ, τίς
192	βουλήν·	βουλήν,
193	μάχῃ· ἐν	μάχῃ. ἐν
194	σκηπτὸς μὴ	σκηπτὸς ἢ χειμὼν μὴ
	γέγονε, τί	γέγονεν· τί

	BS	V
195	πρᾶξαι,	πρᾶξαι·
	προσέθεντο,	προσέθεντο;
	φωνάς;	φωνάς.
	τότε δ'—,	τότε δέ—;
	προβάλλεσθαι	προβαλέσθαι,
198	πολιτεύῃ (*bis*)	πολιτεύει (*bis*)
199	εἴ περ	εἴπερ
200	δοκῇ.	δοκῇ,
203	τοῖς τότε Ἀθηναίοις	τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
204	ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως·	ἐπαινεῖτε, εἰκότως.
	αὐτοῦ.	αὐτοῦ;
205	πατρίδι ὑπὲρ	πατρίδι, ὑπὲρ
208	μόνους. δικαίως·	μόνους, δικαίως.
209	περὶ	τὸν περὶ
210	εἴ περ	εἴπερ
212	εἶναι,	εἶναι.
213	πεπόνθεσαν	᾽πεπόνθεσαν
	ἔλεγον.	ἔλεγον,
215	ἀνδρίας	ἀνδρείας
	μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν	μεθ' ὑμῶν μᾶλλον
216	τοῦ στρατοπέδου	στρατοπέδου·
	τὰς πρώτας	τὰς πρώτας μάχας
217	ψηφίσασθαι,	ψηφίσασθαι
218	νομίζουσιν	δοκοῦσιν
222	ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους	λόγους ἐπαιρόμενος
	τὸ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα,	τὰ ἀποπεφευγότα,
223	ὦ ἄνδρες	ἄνδρες
230	εἶναι	εἶναι,
	Εὐβοίας	Εὐβοίας,
232	ἂν οἷα	ἂν, οἷα
	τοῦτο, οὐχ	τοῦτο—οὐχ
	ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ	ῥῆμα, ἀλλὰ
234	παρεσκευάκεισαν	παρεσκευάκεσαν
235	om. BS post βουλευόμενος,	οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος
238	διαλέγῃ	διαλέγει

	BS	V
239	χαρίζῃ	χαρίζει
241	ἐξεδόθησαν, ἀπηλάθησαν,	ἐξεδόθησαν; οὐχ ὡς ἀπηλάθησαν
	ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν
243	ἄνθρωπος	ἄνθρωπος
244	οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβ.	οὐδ' ἐξ Ἀμβ.
	οὐ παρὰ	οὐδὲ παρὰ
247	Φιλίππου	Φίλιππον
248	ἑωρακὼς	ἑορακὼς
249	ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως·	ἐσωζόμην, δικαίως.
256	εἴ γε	εἴγε
258	πολλῆς ἐνδείας	πολλῆς τῆς ἐνδείας
260	γραδίων	γραιδίων
	αὑτὸν	αὐτὸν
	αὑτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
262	αὑτὸν	σαυτὸν
266	δὲ εἴτε	δέ, εἴτε
267	κακὸν κακῶς σε	'κακὸν κακῶς σε'
270	πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι.	πάντων γεγενῆσθαι.
275	νομίμοις	νόμοις
	νόμοις	νομίμοις
281	τινα κίνδυνον	κίνδυνόν τιν'
283	φθέγγῃ	φθέγγει
284	Αἰσχίνῃ	Αἰσχίνῃ
286	αὑτοῖς	αὐτοῖς
287	δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα	δεῦρ' ἐλθόντα
	συναλγεῖν—·	συναλγεῖν,
288	παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως·	παρ' ἐμοί, εἰκότως.
289	βραβῇ	βραβῇ,
	μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες	μὴ, ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεῖσαν
	δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν	δουλοσύνης, στυγερὰν
	κατορθοῦν,	κατορθοῦν
	ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν	ἐν βιοτῇ. μοῖραν
294	εἴ γ'	εἴγ'
295	αἰσχροκερδείας	αἰσχροκερδίας
	Δημάρατος	Δημάρετος

	BS	V
296	ἀνατετραφότες	ἀνατετροφότες
303	ἀνέτρεψαν	ἀνέτρεψεν
304	οὐδεὶς	οὐδένες
	ἐκέχρητ'	ἐκέχρηντ'
305	τῶν τοσούτων	τούτων τοσούτων
	post λαβών om. BS	τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τα ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα.
307	ἐὰν	ἂν
308	φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε	φυλάττει, πηνίκ' ἔστε
311	ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ;	ἐπηνώρθωται;
312	ὦ τᾶν,	ὥταν
313	πολιτεύῃ	πολιτεύει
317	ἄν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ	ἄν τις σκοπῇ
320	ἑτέρους	ἕτερον
322	οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς	οὐκ εἰς Ἀμφικτυόνας

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΛΙΒΑΝΙΟΥ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Τειχος μὲν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων προὐβάλετο τῶν συνήθων τούτων καὶ χειροποιήτων ἀρραγέστερόν τε καὶ βέλτιον, τήν τε εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν καὶ περὶ λόγους δεινότητα, ὡς αὐτὸς εἴρηκεν "οὐ λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις τὰς Ἀθήνας ὠχύρωσα, ἀλλὰ μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ πολλῇ τινὶ συμμαχίᾳ, τῇ μὲν ἐκ γῆς τῇ δὲ ἐκ θαλάττης·" οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν χειροποίητον περίβολον οὐ μικρὰ τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. πεπονηκότος γὰρ κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξεν ἀνορθοῦν αὐτό, ᾑρέθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον ἄνδρες δέκα, φυλῆς ἑκάστης εἷς, οὓς ἔδει τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν παρέχεσθαι ψιλήν· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλωμα δημόσιον. εἷς τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ γενόμενος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μόνην εἰσήνεγκε τῇ χρείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἀμέμπτως ἀπετέλεσε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔδωκεν οἴκοθεν τῇ πόλει. ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν εὔνοιαν ταύτην ἡ βουλή, καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν ἠμείψατο στεφάνῳ χρυσῷ· ἕτοιμοι γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς τὰς χάριτας τῶν εὖ ποιούντων. Κτησιφῶν δὲ ἦν ὁ τὴν γνώμην εἰπὼν ὡς δεῖ στεφανῶσαι τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐν μὲν καιρῷ τοῖς Διονυσίοις, ἐν δὲ τόπῳ τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου θεάτρῳ, ἐν δὲ θεαταῖς πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὓς ἡ πανήγυρις συνήγαγε· καὶ τούτων ἐναντίον ἀνειπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ὅτι στεφανοῖ Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα ἡ πόλις ἀρετῆς συμπάσης ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς

25 αὐτήν. ἣν οὖν πανταχόθεν ἡ τιμὴ θαυμαστή· διὸ καὶ φθόνος αὐτῆς ἥψατο, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἀπηνέχθη παρανόμων γραφή. Αἰσχίνης γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ὢν τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνα παρανόμων ἐπήγγειλε Κτησιφῶντι, λέγων ἄρχοντα γεγονότα τὸν Δημοσθένην καὶ μὴ δόντα
30 λόγον ὑπεύθυνον εἶναι, νόμον δὲ κελεύειν τοὺς ὑπευθύνους μὴ στεφανοῦν, καὶ πάλιν νόμον παρεχόμενος τὸν κελεύοντα, ἐὰν μέν τινα ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν στέφανον ἀναγορεύεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ βουλή, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι. 222
35 φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους εἶναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ψευδεῖς· μὴ γὰρ πεπολιτεῦσθαι καλῶς τὸν ῥήτορα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωροδόκον εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει. καὶ τάξει γε ταύτῃ τῆς κατηγορίας Αἰσχίνης κέχρηται· πρῶτον εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ τῶν ὑπευθύνων νόμου καὶ δεύτε-
40 ρον περὶ τοῦ τῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ τρίτον περὶ τῆς πολιτείας· ἠξίωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην τὸν λόγον κατέστρεψε, τεχνικῶς ποιῶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἄρχεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τῶν
45 ἰσχυροτέρων καὶ λήγειν εἰς ταῦτα· μέσα δὲ τέθεικε τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ τῷ μὲν περὶ τῶν ὑπευθύνων ἀντιτίθησι διανοίας, τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων νόμον ἕτερον ἤτοι νόμου μέρος, ὥς φησιν αὐτός, ἐν ᾧ συγκεχώρηται καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττειν, ἐὰν ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ
50 τοῦτο ψηφίσηται.

ΕΤΕΡΑ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ.

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ, πόλει τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἡττήθησαν· ἐπικρατήσας οὖν ὁ Μακεδὼν φρουρὰν μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλε, καὶ εἶχεν ὑπὸ χεῖρα δουλεύουσαν. ἐλπίσαντες οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ

παθεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω κατ' αὐτῶν ἥξειν 5
223 προσδοκῶντες τὸν τύραννον, ἐσκέψαντο τὰ πεπονηκότα
μέρη τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ τείχους ἐπανορθώσασθαι, καὶ δὴ
ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς τειχοποιοὶ προεβλήθησαν. τοιόνδε
καὶ ἡ Πανδιονὶς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς εἵλετο πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τὸν
ῥήτορα. τῆς τοίνυν ἐργασίας ἐν χερσὶν οὔσης, προσ- 10
δεηθεὶς ἔτι χρημάτων μετὰ τὰ δεδομένα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαπάνησε, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσατο
αὐτὰ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ κατεχαρίσατο. ταύτην ἀφορμὴν ὁ
Κτησιφῶν, εἷς τῶν πολιτευομένων, δεξάμενος εἰσήνεγκε
γνώμην ἐν τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτην, "ἐπειδὴ 15
διατελεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ Δημοσθένους παρ' ὅλον τὸν βίον
εὔνοιαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεικνύμενος, καὶ νῦν δὲ τειχο-
ποιὸς ὢν καὶ προσδεηθεὶς χρημάτων οἴκοθεν παρέσχε καὶ
ἐχαρίσατο, διὰ τοῦτο δεδόχθω τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
στεφανοῦσθαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ, ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, 20
τραγῳδιῶν ἀγομένων καινῶν," ἴσως ὅτε πλήθη συντρέχει
ἐπιθυμοῦντα καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν. εἰσαγομένου τοίνυν
καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ προβουλεύματος, ἐφίσταται τοῦ
Κτησιφῶντος κατήγορος Αἰσχίνης, ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας
ὑπάρχων ἐχθρός, παράνομον εἶναι φάσκων πρὸς τρεῖς 25
νόμους τὸ ψήφισμα, ἕνα μὲν τὸν κελεύοντα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον
μὴ στεφανοῦσθαι, πρὶν ἂν δῷ τὰς εὐθύνας· οὔπω δὲ
ταύτας, φησίν, ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐδεδώκει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ
διοικῶν καὶ τειχοποιῶν, καὶ ἔδει ἀναμεῖναι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν
τὸ γέρας, ἕως ἂν ὀφθῇ καθαρὸς ἐξετασθείς. δεύτερον δὲ 30
ἀναγινώσκει νόμον τὸν κελεύοντα ἐν Πυκνὶ στεφανοῦσθαι,
224 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διαβάλλων τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς δεξαμένους
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἀναγορευθῆναι τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὸν στέ-
φανον· ὁ δὲ τρίτος νόμος εἰς τὴν ὅλην ὁρᾷ τοῦ βίου καὶ
τῆς πολιτείας ἐξέτασιν· κελεύει γὰρ μηδέποτε ψευδῆ 35
γράμματα εἰς τὸ Μητρῷον εἰσάγειν, ἔνθα ἐστὶν ὅλα τὰ

δημόσια γράμματα. ἐψεύσατο δέ, φησίν, εὔνοιαν καὶ σπουδὴν μαρτυρήσας τῷ Δημοσθένει· κακόνους γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ πολέμιος εὑρίσκεται τῇ πατρίδι. τούτου
40 τοῦ νόμου χρησίμου τυγχάνοντος, τοῦ τρίτου, ἀντιλαβόμενος ὥς πέρ τινος ἀγκύρας ὁ ῥήτωρ κατεπάλαισε τὸν ἀντίδικον, μεθόδῳ δεινοτάτῃ καὶ σοφωτάτῃ τῇ περὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου χρησάμενος· ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἔιχε λαβὴν ἑλεῖν καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι τὸν πολέμιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους
45 δύο νόμους, τόν τε τῶν ὑπευθύνων καὶ τὸν τοῦ κηρύγματος, εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ λόγου ἀπέρριψε, στρατηγικῶς κακοὺς δ' εἰς μέσον ἐλάσας, τῷ δὲ ἰσχυροτάτῳ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα προσκέχρηται, τὸ σαθρὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξ ἑκατέρου ῥωννύς. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ διοικεῖν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τὸν
50 λόγον, καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἀναιδῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπιδεικνύμενος. δοκῶν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις ὑπερβαίνειν τὸ νόμιμον, ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ τῷ νομίμῳ προσκέχρηται· καὶ γὰρ νόμον ἀνέγνω Αἰσχίνης τὸν περὶ τῶν στεφάνων ψευδῆ, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἀποκρινόμενος εὗρε καιρὸν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ
55 πολιτεύματα, ὡς νομίμῳ μαχόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν διοίκησις τοῦ λόγου τοιαύτη, κεφάλαιον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν τῷ μὲν Αἰσχίνῃ τὸ νόμιμον, τῷ δὲ ῥήτορι τὸ δίκαιον, κοινὸν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου τὸ συμφέρον, οὐκ ἔχον φανερὰν τὴν ἐξέτασιν. ἡ στάσις ἔγγραφος πραγματική· περὶ ῥητοῦ
60 γὰρ τὸ ψήφισμα. 225

Τῆς δὲ γραφῆς ἔτι Φιλίππου ζῶντος ἀποτεθείσης, ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ κρίσις. ὡς γὰρ ἀπέθανε Φίλιππος καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τεθαρσηκότες ἐξέβαλον, ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς
65 καταφρονηθεὶς τὰς Θήβας κατέσκαψεν, εἶτα μεταγνοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ἐξεχώρησε τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἰσχυνόμενος καὶ κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστράτευσεν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν κρίσει παραδοῦναι τοὺς

προδόταις τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀδικήσαντας, καὶ οὕτω συν-
εκροτήθη τὸ δικαστήριον. 70

Πρῶτον μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχο- 1
μαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ
26 τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι
παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ πέρ ἐστι
μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε
καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ
τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμβουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς 2
ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό
γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς
ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται τὸ
ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐ
μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν
εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ
ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προῄρηται τῶν ἀγωνι-
ζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρήσασθαι.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ 3
τὸν ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ
μεγάλα, ἓν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι·
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας
διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἑλεῖν τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ
μέν—οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος
τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ.
ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν
μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως,
τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθεσθαι· τούτων τοίνυν 4
ὃ μέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν
ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν ἐμοί. κἂν μὲν εὐλα-

βούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ἃ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθήσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ· πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν 227
ὡς μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὅ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάζῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὁ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.

5 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησιφῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῳ τοῦτο συμβαίνῃ, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέ-
6 γιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' ὄντος τουτονὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός, οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίους ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
7 τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὀμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει, οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται, καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκροατήν, οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἁπάντων.

Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, 8
λόγον διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, [βούλομαι] πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εὔχομαι πρῶτον μέν, ὅσην εὔνοιαν
28 ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὅ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῦτο παραστῆσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γνῶναι.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν 9
Αἰσχίνης, κἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τἆλλα διεξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούῃ μου.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βε- 10
βλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἁπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἷον οὗτος ᾐτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευ πεπολίτευμαι, ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γιγνώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ'

ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὔνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον,
11 καὶ νυνὶ παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὤν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾠήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν 21
τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγενημένης ὕστερον, ἂν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ᾖ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.

12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλά, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασι τιμωρίας· τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει
13 δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὗσί γε τηλικούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῳδει καὶ διεξῄει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἄξια πράττοντά με ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλλοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γραφόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν δι' ἐμέ,

ἐμὲ δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν
ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέ- 14
βαλλε καὶ διεξῄει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με
ὑμᾶς ἑώρα, εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ
30 ἀγῶνες καὶ κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι,
καὶ ὁπηνίκα ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς καὶ τοῦτον
τὸν τρόπον κεχρημένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο
ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς 15
τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ καὶ φυγὼν τοὺς παρ'
αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον
χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας συμφο-
ρήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἶτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει
δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἔχθραν προΐσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην ἀπηντη-
κὼς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἑτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι
φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 16
τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος
ἔχοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν
λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ
μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἑτέρῳ
δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ
ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.

Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ 17
τούτων ἄν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας
οὐδεμιᾶς εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον
αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης
καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγ-
μένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι
δ' ἀναγκαῖον ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσῆκον ἴσως,

ὡς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνῆσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῆτε.

18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμην πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶν- 231
τες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὔθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὔθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλά τις ἦν ἄκριτος καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις
19 καὶ ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἑκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὑτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἶτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὡς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδὲ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοήθειαν ἐπηγ-
20 γείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσατο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἑκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν εἴτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν, οἴ, πόλεμον συνεχῆ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν

πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι ἑτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ
32 ταῦτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὡς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων, ἄν τις ἐξετάζῃ δικαίως, αἴτια εὑρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας 21
ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δοκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδέν ἐστι δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνη κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῇς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἕνεκα (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὔβουλος καὶ Κηφισοφῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ.
ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς 22
τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἧκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἴτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκὼς εἴην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἶτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπών σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρών, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξῇεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἠγανάκτησας ἢ παρελθὼν ταῦτα ἃ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες; καὶ 23
μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν

ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' 233
ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδείς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ τούτων εἴρηκεν οὐδέν.
24 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὔκουν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὂν δείκνυται.

25 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἡ πόλις, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἑκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλεύων ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν
26 ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι;

ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ'
234 ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἕξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἕνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώ- 27
μενος ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾖ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόντων τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν καὶ τὴν Ἐργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνοιντ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θρᾴκης κατασταίῃ, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥᾳδίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. εἶτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ λέγει τὸ 28
ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾤμην δεῖν, τοῦτό μου διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσάγειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἥκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλεχθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς κελεῦσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ δήπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψή-

φισμα τουτὶ λαβών, ὃ σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

29 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομ- 235
βαιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογουμένας πεποίηται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἡ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἤδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυνθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὡμολογημέναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἑκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ᾑρέθησαν Εὔβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

30 Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθῆντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θρᾴκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἐξὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφῖχθαι καὶ τὰ χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὡρκίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφότερα εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία. 236

Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα 31
μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων
ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ
νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι
τούτοις· ἕτερον δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μεῖζον
κακούργημα θεάσασθε. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὤμοσε τὴν 32
εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν τὴν Θρᾴκην διὰ
τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψηφίσματι, πάλιν
ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν ἐκ Μακε-
δονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκέας
εὐτρεπῆ ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα μή, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάντων
ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι,
ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν
εἰς Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσαιτε τὸν τόπον,
ἀλλ' ἅμ' ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν
κακεῖνος ἐντὸς εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς
ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ 33
πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα προειληφότος αὐτοῦ,
εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι ψηφίσαισθε
βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε μισ-
θοῦται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβεων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὑτόν, τοιαῦτα
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ'
ἀπώλετο. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι 34
τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ
237 κατηγορήσαντος Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς
οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις
δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασφημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρη-
μένου ἀνάγκη κἀμοὶ πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγο-
ρουμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν 35

οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ῥηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὡς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἥκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τοὐναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητας ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἐπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων.
36 ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν
37 ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγ- 238
κλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ βουλῆς γνώμῃ, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλισθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμιᾷ παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι ἀλλ'

ἐν ἄστει καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγμένοι· τούτων δ' ἑκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν μήτε ἀφημερεύοντας μήτε ἀποκοιτοῦν-
38 τας. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπιτιμίοις, ἐὰν μή τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς. κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστυ καὶ Πειραιᾶ, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Φυλὴν καὶ Ἄφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.]

Ἆρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε, ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;

Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος
39 μετὰ ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἴστε ἡμᾶς παρεληλυθότας εἴσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεποιημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἑκουσίως
239 προσετίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγηοχότας εἰς αὐτά, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρασκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλεῖον ἐνοχλῆσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲν μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὡμολογημένοις οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἔξω τοῦ ἐφθακέναι ἀδικοῦντες.]

40 Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ὅτι "ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ' εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύσετε," οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι· τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν προορᾷν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μηδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκεῖνον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις
41 συμφοραῖς οἱ ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ὢν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτῆμ' ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθὺς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος.

42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἴσως ἁρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπάνειμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὡς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἴτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν

ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ
ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνῄρηντο αἱ πόλεις αὐ-
τῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ 43
καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτῆρα
τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγοῦντο· πάντ' ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτοῖς·
οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιτο
λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ
δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετε τὴν εἰρήνην ὅμως· οὐ γὰρ
ἦν ὅ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες,
ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενακισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν
ἤλπισαν, ἤγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκ
πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιιὼν Φίλιππος 44
Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλούς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ με-
γάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες
ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες,
ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο.
εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾔσθάνοντο, ἕτερος ὁ λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς
ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην 45
καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις
ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πράττειν
δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι,
241 τῶν δὲ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμέ-
νων, τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ῥᾳστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ
δελεαζομένων, καὶ τοιουτονί τι πάθος πεπονθότων
ἁπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἑκάστων οἰομένων
τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑτέρων κινδύνων τὰ
ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν βούλωνται. εἶτ' 46
οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν ἀντὶ τῆς πολ-

λῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ῥαθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολω-
λεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τἆλλα πλὴν ἑαυ-
τοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρώτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν
αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνο-
μάζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς
47 ἐχθροὶ καὶ τἆλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐ-
δεὶς γάρ, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμ-
φέρον ζητῶν χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὧν
ἂν πρίηται κύριος γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ
περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι χρῆται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν
εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα·
πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν καταστῇ, καὶ
τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ πονη-
ρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δή, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ
48 προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυ-
θεν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρός, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ
τοιαῦτα καιρὸς ἀεὶ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. μέ-
χρι τούτου Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προὔ-
δωκεν Ὄλυνθον· μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώ-
λεσε Θήβας· μέχρι τούτου Εὔδικος καὶ Σῖμος ὁ
Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν.
εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζομένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ 241
πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί
δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ τί Περίλαος ἐν Με-
49 γάροις; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν καὶ σαφέστατ'
ἄν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
πατρίδα καὶ πλεῖστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος ὑμῖν
Αἰσχίνῃ τοῖς προδιδοῦσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν
ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολ-

λοὺς τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλήμασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῷοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διά γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι 50
πολλὰ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρῆσθαι· αἴτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἑωλοκρασίαν τινά μου τῆς πονηρίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ εἰπεῖν ὁτιοῦν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι φιλίαν 51
γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἶπέ που λέγων "ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί." ἐγώ σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἴποιμ' ἂν ἐγώ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλο τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολ- 52
λοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγώ σε Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος
143 εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐ- 53
τῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἅ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος

εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

54 ΓΡΑΦΗ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἴς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν, πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῆ
55 γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐώντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἶτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυ- 241
σίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος Κοθωκίδης.]

56 Ἃ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκα-

στον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν 57
οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά
με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν
ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν
τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· ἀπὸ
γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὑρεθήσεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ
περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσή-
κοντα εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα 58
"ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῷ" στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν
ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός
εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τού-
τοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον
εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ.
οὕτωσὶ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δικαίως καὶ ἁπλῶς
τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι, βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ'
αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ 59
ἀπαρτᾷν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλληνικὰς
πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω· ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ ψη-
φίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστά με
καὶ γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν
ὁ τοὺς περὶ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λό-
γους οἰκείους καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκώς.
εἶτα καὶ πολλῶν προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας
τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἱλόμην ἐγώ,
ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι
ποιεῖσθαι.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν 60
ἐμὲ προὔλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω· οὐδὲν
γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ· ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς

ἡμέρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη,
ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον
ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα
61 ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὐ
τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προδοτῶν καὶ
δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη
γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδείς πω πρότερον μέμ-
νηται γεγονυῖαν· οὓς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς
λαβὼν καὶ πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας
πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε,
τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν, τοῖς δὲ διδούς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα
τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ
ἑνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον
62 μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι
ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυρομένου κακοῦ τῶν
ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσῆκον ἦν ἑλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ
ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ
λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας
63 εἰμὶ ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρό- 24
νημα ἀφεῖσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὑτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετ-
ταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ
τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ
καὶ δίκαια ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν
γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἃ δ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς
κωλύσει, καὶ προῃσθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ,
64 ταῦτα περιιδεῖν γιγνόμενα; ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν
μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν
ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐβού-
λετ' ἄν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων

τοῖς Ἕλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περιεωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, 65
χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ᾤχετ' εὐθέως ἀπιὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἦν ἄν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἁπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἠδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἁπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλεύσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπανέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰ- 66
σχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τὶ τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν,
247 τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλεῖστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῄδειν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, ἀεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων 67
δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὅ τι βουληθείη μέρος ἡ τύχη τοῦ

Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι
74 καὶ αἱρεθῶσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἳ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβών, ὅτι ἐπισκεψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγωρίας ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνωμονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλ- 2
μένος, καὶ λέγειν, ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὔβουλος ἔγραψεν, οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἶθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἶτ' Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν, εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἄρχοντος, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, βουλῆς γνώμῃ, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἑλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισοφῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἱπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

76 Ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὕτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἴτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν

ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων 77
251 Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐναυάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐηθείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σῖτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λῆμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν 78
τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἰδιωτῶν μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῷ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθῆσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὔθ' ὑμῖν οὔτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἐὰν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι κἀγὼ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' 79
αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις

ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὑτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις 25 ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστη-
80 σεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις
81 εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν
82 πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι· οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη

τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων
253 ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ
σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν
μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στε- 83
φανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ
γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἅσπερ
οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος
ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης
παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε
καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, 84
γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεον-
τίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης
Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας
παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν
συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βε-
βοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ
Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνη-
ται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων
ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στε-
φανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως
τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν
254 καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ 85
πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευ-
ασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι,

ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμέμνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγράφει· τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμην ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις 25 ἠναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκεῖνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὔβοιαν, ἡνίκ' Εὐβοίας ἥπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκεῖνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι κατέστη-
80 σεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, παρὰ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνῆσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εὔνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντεις
81 εἶναι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν, πολλὰ δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἐρέτριαν, πολλὰ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἃ ποιῶν ἠδίκει μηδένα ἐξετάζειν
82 πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα σύ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλυον, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὐξένεις αὐτῶν· οὓς ἡ μὲν πόλις ὡς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι· οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη

τούτων οὐδέν, ὦ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγων
253 ὡς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ
σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν
μή σε οὗτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στε- 83
φανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ
γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ἅσπερ
οὗτοσὶ Κτησιφῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν
τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος
ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὔτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης
παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε
καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, 84
γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεον-
τίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης
Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας
παρέσχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν
συμμάχων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βε-
βοήθηκε διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων καί τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ
Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὔνους ὢν τῷ
δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὅ τι ἂν δύνη-
ται ἀγαθὸν ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων
ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στε-
φανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως
τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν
254 καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.]

Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνην τῇ 85
πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευ-
ασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι,

ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾖ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐάν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐάν θ' ὡς ἑτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, κἂν διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐζήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ, βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς τῇ πόλει
88 καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ὅ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν 255
ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ

πόλει λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἁπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ 89
μὴν ἡλίκα ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπείρασθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνστὰς πόλεμος ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετάσχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προῄρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσ- 90
πορίχω Δαμάγητος ἐν τᾷ ἁλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τᾶς βωλᾶς λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἔν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἔν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππω τῶ Μακεδόνος ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δενδροκοπέοντος,
256 βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὁπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἁμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστατε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμως καὶ τὼς τάφως, δεδόχθω τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων 91
Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειτουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τᾶν

λειτουργιᾶν· στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἑκκαιδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶ δάμω τῶ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τᾷ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριας, Ἴσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στεφάνως ὧς ἐστεφάνωται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλλανες πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ. [Χερρονησιτῶν οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σηστὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυτον Ἀλωπεκόννησον στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν ἱδρύονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρονησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ 257
ταῦτα αἰῶνι παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευτηρίῳ.]

93 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, οὐδὲ τὸ κωλῦσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέσθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τήν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἑωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὔ τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἴσχιον

ἢ μιαρώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμψάμενοι πολλὰ 94
καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ ὧν ἠγνωμονήκε-
σαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, οὐ μόνον
οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδικουμένους
ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ὧν δόξαν καὶ εὔ-
νοιαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν πολ-
λοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαν-
τες ἴσασι· δι' ὅντινα δ' ἄλλον ἡ πόλις ἐστεφάνωται,
σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν
εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

Ἵνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν 95
Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσ-
χερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων,
συκοφαντίας οὔσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς
εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότας ἡγοῦ-
μαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς,
οὕτως ὡς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν
χρήσασθαι, ἓν ἢ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πε-
58 πραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ταῦτ'
ἐν βραχέσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ
πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πειρᾶ-
σθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες 96
Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόν-
των καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμο-
σταῖς καὶ φρουραῖς, Εὔβοιαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιω-
τίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, ἄλλας
νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησα-
μένης, ἐξήλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς
ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων
πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ

Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχ-
97 θέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποίουν τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἐγγύς. καίτοι
τότε ταῦτα ἀμφότερα, Αἰσχίνη, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργε-
τῶν ἐποίουν οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦ-
τα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς
διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν
γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν
ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς
ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ τοῖς
καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν
98 δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ γενναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οἱ
ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἳ
Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ
πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἠδικηκότας καὶ μεγάλα,
ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν
ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε
Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ 259
οἷα πεποιηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογι-
99 σάμενοι. καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε
ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κἂν ὁτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτῃ,
τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τἆλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ
σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός τις αὐτοὺς κατα-
λαμβάνῃ, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε.
καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ
πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὔβοιαν οὐ
περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὧν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου
περὶ Ὠρωπὸν ἠδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοη-
θήσατε καὶ τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρ-
χων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ.

ἀλλ' οὔπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε 100
καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν νῆσον, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς, μηδὲν ὧν ἠδίκησθε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγονυίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἁπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποίηται. εἶτ' ἐγὼ τεθεωρηκὼς ἐν 101
τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικακεῖν νὴ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι,
60 καὶ προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα; καὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα; ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ' ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἠβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδών; οὐκ ἐξῆν; οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;

Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἑξῆς 102
ἐπολιτευόμην· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ'

ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἠνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπαυσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς
103 παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεὶς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέφυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἴεσθέ μοι διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θεῖναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἐᾷν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ', ὦ ἄνδρες
104 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουργεῖν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ 26
νόμου τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκα-
105 σθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἶτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τόν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἱπποθωντίδος, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειροτόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρα-

νόμων Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον. 106

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

262 ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

Ἆρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, 107
ἢ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεὶς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πεῖραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἱκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριήραρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων ἐδέθη, οὐ τριή-

ρης οὔτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ'
.08 αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι. καίτοι
κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο.
τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν·
πολλὰ δὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινεν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν
ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρ-
χίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ
κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι
πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προῃρούμην πολιτεύματα ἀφ'
ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον
τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες 263
οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς
.09 πόλεως ἀνάξιον. ταὐτὸ τοίνυν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς
κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνι-
κοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ
τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν
δίκαια εἱλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίπ-
που δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἠγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων.

.10 Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ
κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς
τὰ ἄριστά τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμὶ
καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρη-
μένων δεδηλῶσθαί μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστά
γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ
παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με
δεῖν, εἶτα, κἂν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολι-
τευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ συνειδὸς
ὑπάρχειν μοι.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω 111
διακυκῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων,
οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐτὸς
ἠδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλούς· ἁπλῶς δὲ τὴν
ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου γὰρ
δέω λέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος διέ-
βαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύθυ-
νος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἢ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολίτευμαι
παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἐπαγ- 112
γειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ὑπεύ-
θυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον
164 οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχῃ.
τίς γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισαν-
θρωπίας μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ
ποιήσαντα πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον
τῆς χάριτος μὲν ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας
δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ὧν ἔδωκεν
ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω,
κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, 113
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκοφαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ
τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρήματα, ἐπῄνεσεν
αὐτόν φησιν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ τούτων γε
οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκα, ὦ
συκοφάντα· ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα. καὶ διά γε
τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπῃνούμην, ὅτι τἀνηλωμένα ἔδωκα καὶ
οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐθυνῶν καὶ
τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἡ δὲ δωρεὰ χάριτος
καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ ταῦτ'
ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον 114
ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν

ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥᾳδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὤν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ 265
115 κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα αὐτὰ λαβών. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμῃ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν δισχιλίων ὄντων ἐν Ἴμβρῳ καὶ βοηθούντων τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.

116 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λέγοντων βουλῆς γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλεὶς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ Διότιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθώπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ

στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγω-
166 νοθέτας.]

Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς 117
ἦρχεν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἐστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὢν ὧν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὧν ἐπέδωκα. νὴ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἶτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

Ἵνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ 118
ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἐστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγράψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυανεψιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος, Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾶ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ,

καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις 26;
τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι
τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

119 Οὐκοῦν ἃ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν
σὺ γέγραψαι· ἃ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων
γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἃ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν
τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τού-
των ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφῃ. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος
ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως
ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

120 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι,
τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ
τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ
πρὸς θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη,
ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανου-
μένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν
ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέρ-
οντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ
ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν
προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλ-
λον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον
τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν
νόμον λαβών.

ΝΟΜΟΣ. [Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δήμων, τὰς
ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἑκάστους
τοῖς ἰδίοις δήμοις, ἐὰν μή τινας ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ
Διονυσίοις (ἀναγορεύεσθαι).]

121 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς,
πλὴν ἐάν τινας ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· 26;

τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεσθαι τοῖς γε ὀμωμοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι; ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ 122
δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφήν, εἶτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικοὺς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γιγνωσκομένους. βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ γένει πρόσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. 123
ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὑτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπείληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλλέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν, ἐάν τις ἠδικηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα 124
τοίνυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἵλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορεύσομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τις, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν
269 εἶναι φῇ; ἐμὸν δῆλον ὅτι. εἶτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ

ἠδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες, ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς,
125 ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρίσεσιν· οὗ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῷος ἅπασι,
τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι
περὶ πάντων πολλάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε
ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ
πλέον ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγ-
μένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐνταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα
μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῇ.
126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος
ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὡς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φι-
λολοίδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας
εἰρημένας ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ ταναγκαιό-
τατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων
ῥᾳδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους
τίνας διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκὼς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὤκνησε
127 τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰα-
κὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ
μὴ σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὄλεθρος γραμ-
ματεύς, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν
οὕτως ἐπαχθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τρα-
γῳδίᾳ βοῶντα ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ
τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμε-
νον, ᾗ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα
128 γὰρ δήπουθεν ἠκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· σοὶ δὲ ἀρε-
τῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἢ τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἢ καλῶν
ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιω-
θέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἧς τῶν
μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ
αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἑτέρου λέγοντος 270
ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι μὲν ὥσπερ σύ,

προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὅ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν 129
εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἐλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησείῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθημερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Διώνυσος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δοῦλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτὸς οὐ προσήκοντας ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προῃρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ 130
ὧν αὐτὸς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταρᾶται. ὀψὲ γάρ ποτε—, ὀψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῴην ἅμ' Ἀθηναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεὶς τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον, τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἔμπουσαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τυχοῦσαν· πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως 131
οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύ-
171 θερος ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γεγονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὧν μέν ἐστί τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς

χίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἑκατομβαιῶνος τρίτῃ ἱσταμένου.]

138 Μυρία τοίνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὑρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἣν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέγοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾷόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἑλόμενον τάξιν πολιτευεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερῶς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μέν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοι, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βού- 27
λεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερῶς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκέτ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὅ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὑτοσὶ ἰαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν.

καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἡνίκα 140
ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἠδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἓν δ' ἐπεξειργάσατο ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τἀληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τἀκεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς 141
θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποιμι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν
275 μιαρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἁπτόμενον (ἔγνων γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνων), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῆ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτωσὶ 142
σφοδρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκεῖνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος

ἐλάττων· ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς ταλαι-
πώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ'
143 ἀπαγγείλας. τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν
εἰς Ἐλάτειαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ᾑρέθη τῶν
Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάν-
των εἷς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τότ'
εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ
ἐκκλησίᾳ "πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσ-
χίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν" οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλή-
σεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ εἴων με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύ-
μαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν
144 με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ. ἥτις δ' ἡ φύσις ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος
εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν
ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ
πρᾶγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε
πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν
τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ'
ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετται- 27
λοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ
ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων
πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὅμως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ
ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνομένων οὐδέν, οὔτ'
146 εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν
δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θη-
βαίων διιέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρα-

τοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιουσδήποθ' ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἑκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ μὲν 147
οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπείθοι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἱρεθῇ ῥᾷον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν παρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπιχειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὡς εὖ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχήν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦθ' εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι.
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων 148
ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ᾖ καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπόρως λήσειν· ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ 149
προειδότος, οἶμαι, τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἴωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν γίγνεσθαι, προ-
177 βληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη. ὡς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας, πάντα τἆλλ' ἀφεὶς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει 150
ψηφίσασθαι περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν αὐτῶν οὖσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος

δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας ᾐτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπαγόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἃ νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ ἀληθῆ. γνώσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι δήπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἰπὲ τὸν εἰδότα, δεῖξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει
151 ταύτῃ κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. περιιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρπασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐταράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν, ὡς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποίουν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
152 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν· ἢ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν 278
ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἢ ἐκεῖνον αἱρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ᾑρέθη γὰρ ἐκ τούτων ἡγεμών. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλλέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λο-
153 κροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσαν εὐθέως, ὡς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο, ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὦ

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θεῶν τινὸς εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἕνα ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῆτε ἡλίκα πράγματα ἡ μιαρὰ κεφαλὴ ταράξασα αὕτη δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα. 154

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ
279 τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὅρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἐα- 155
ρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμουσι, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασι μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ᾑρημένον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὸν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἱροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὓς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ. [Ἄρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

156 Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἥν, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύτας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν. λέγε.

157 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πε- 28c
λοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ' ὅπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος μηνὸς λῴου, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὡς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομιῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίοις. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

158 Ὁρᾶθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμπαρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγενημένων μάλιστα αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιιόντες ὡς ὑφ' ἑνός τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἑνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς οὑτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μηδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τὰ- 159
ληθὲς εἰπεῖν δέοι, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἁπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων τόπων πόλεων· ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων κακῶν αἴτιος. ὃν
181 ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπεστράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολύ τι σκότος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 160
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἁψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τούτοις ἐναντιούμενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφῖχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν ἕνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θη- 161
βαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διεφθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἐᾷν αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττομένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ πάλιν 162
Εὔβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντιλέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας ἀεί. οὓς σὺ

ζῶντας μέν, ὦ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων ἐπιτιμᾷς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν
.63 συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάντων. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπεραναμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὗπερ ἕνεκα τὰς πόλεις 28
οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἠδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἤτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβών.

.64 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς ἐλαφηβολιῶνος ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθηίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἃς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλαίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συνθήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοιαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλεύσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνός. ῥήθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀναγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μου- 165
νυχιῶνος ἕνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, πολεμάρχου γνώμῃ, ἐπειδὴ Φί-
λιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλ-
λεται καταστῆσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ
στρατεύματι πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγ-
283 νεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας
αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι
πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ
παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως
ἐνδεχομένως ὁ δῆμος βουλεύσηται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ
κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ῥήθησαν ἐκ
βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος,
καὶ κῆρυξ Εὔνομος Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. 166

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μα-
κεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
χαίρειν. ἢν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν,
οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι
βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιω-
τούς· βέλτιον δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων
ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ
συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες
ὑμεῖς πρός με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύ-
ετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πε-
πλημμελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν
συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἕτοιμός εἰμι
ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ἄν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβου-
λεύοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας
ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων 167
Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέν- 28
τοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίγνωσκον ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμαις, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

168 Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἧκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἴστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα.

169 Ἑσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἧκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὡς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὡς Ἐλάτεια κατείληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τούς τ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς

285 τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπο-
ρεύεσθε, καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβου-
λεῦσαι πᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα 170
ὡς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ
προσηγγελμένα ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥκοντα παρήγαγον
κἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἠρώτα μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ "τίς ἀγορεύειν
βούλεται;" παρῆει δ' οὐδείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυ-
κος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίστατ' οὐδείς, ἁπάν-
των μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, ἁπάντων δὲ τῶν
ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς
τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἣν γὰρ ὁ κῆρυξ κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταύτην κοινὴν τῆς πα-
τρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι· καίτοι εἰ μὲν τοὺς 171
σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει,
πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι σωθῆναι
αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ
τριακίσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, καὶ εὔνους
τῇ πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας
ἐπιδόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ'
ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ 172
ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὔνουν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα
ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα
ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ
γὰρ μὴ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς μηδ' ἐξητακὼς πόρρωθεν, οὔτ' εἰ
εὔνους ἦν οὔτ' εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ
τι χρὴ ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἕξειν συμβου-
λεύειν. ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, 173
καὶ παρελθὼν εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἅ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ'

ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες τὸν νοῦν, ἑνὸς μέν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε 28
ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν
τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς, ἑτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν
ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῷ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς
174 πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι. εἶπον τοίνυν
ὅτι "τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων Φιλίππῳ
λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ'
ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐτύγχανεν
ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἠκούομεν ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ ὄντα, ἀλλ'
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἵν' ἕτοιμα
ποιήσηται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι.
175 ὡς δ' ἔχει" ἔφην "ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖνος
ὅσους ἢ πεῖσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατῆσαι
ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὑτρέπισται, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀν-
θεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς
πεῖσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα
τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατείληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας
καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους
καταπλῆξαι, ἵν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἃ νῦν
176 οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρη-
σόμεθ' ἡμεῖς" ἔφην "ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον
πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνῆσθαι
καὶ ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὖσι
μερίδι, πρῶτον μὲν ἃ ἂν εὔξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσο-
μεν, εἶτα φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀν-
θεστηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππι- 28
σάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφότεροι. ἂν

μέντοι πεισθῆτ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονεικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν 177
παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον, εἶτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προτέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας Ἐλευσῖνάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἡ βοηθήσουσα δύναμις ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχεθ' ὑμεῖς ἕτοιμοι καὶ βοηθήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειροτο- 178
νῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ; τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχρὸς γὰρ ὁ καιρός) ἀλλ' ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὡς ἐκείνων ὄντων ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ 'κεῖνοι προορωμένων, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἃ βουλόμεθα ὦμεν διῳκη-
288 μένοι καὶ μετὰ προσχήματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν, ἄν τι νῦν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ ταπεινὸν ᾖ

179 πεπραγμένον." Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἁπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτταλον, σὲ δὲ μηδ' ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφάντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρήσιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

181 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ [ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθη- 289

ναίων οὖσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεὶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι ἐπὶ πολὺ
προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὠμότητι· καὶ γὰρ Ἑλληνίδας 182
πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας κατα-
λύει τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς
ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ
ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν
οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ
παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλελησμένος ἑαυ-
τοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως
μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἐώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν 183
βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἔλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος
ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν
Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζομένας τὰς δὲ ἀναστά-
τους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγεῖται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς
τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾷν τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατα-
δουλουμένους. διὸ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ 184
Ἀθηναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι
τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων,
καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ
290 πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν δια-
τηρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς
τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν,
καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς πεζὰς καὶ τὰς
ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ
πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων
πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς
ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλα- 185
γέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος,
οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς
πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρή-

μασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὅπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἕλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι
186 δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμιμνήσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα
187 πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναί- 29
ων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχρος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]

188 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ
189 νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν οὐδὲν ἐοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλεῖστον

ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν· ὁ μέν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθεῖσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν, ἄν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ 190
εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαί τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅ τι τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τοῦτ' ἐγώ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι
191 μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τήμερον, τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἑλέσθαι; τοῦ- 191
το τοίνυν ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, "τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;" οὐ "τίς αἰτιᾶσθαι περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων," οὐδὲ "τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι." σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριὼν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπὲ τίς ἢ λόγος, ὅντιν' ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρελείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μᾶλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς ἀεὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν 192
ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθησιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλήν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἤμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν

προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμ-
βάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρας, ὡς ἂν ὁ
δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις
193 αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ
τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῇς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη
Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος
ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ'
ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἱλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα
καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν,
ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνε-
στησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά μοι δεῖξον, καὶ τότ'
194 ἤδη κατηγόρει μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβὰς σκηπτὸς μὴ
μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις 29
ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατα-
σκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ὧν ὑπελάμβανε σωθή-
σεσθαι, εἶτα χειμῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων
αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς
ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐκυβέρνων τὴν ναῦν,
φήσειεν ἄν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, οὔτε τῆς
195 τύχης κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων. ἀλλ'
ἐκεῖνο λογίζου καὶ ὅρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγω-
νιζομένοις οὕτως εἵμαρτο πρᾶξαι, τί χρὴν προσ-
δοκᾶν εἰ μηδὲ τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλα
Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο, ὑπὲρ οὗ τότ' ἐκεῖνος πάσας
ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γενομένης τοσοῦτος κίν-
δυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν πόλιν, τί ἄν, εἴ που
τῆς χώρας ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πάθος συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι
χρῆν; ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀνα-

πνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδοσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἅ γε μηδὲ πεῖραν ἔδωκε θεῶν τινος εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 196
ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρός γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ' ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότ' ἔδει προλέγειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προῄδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς
194 ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον 197
γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὔπω περὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὔθ' ἕτερα εἶπες βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὔτ' εἰς ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ, οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρίνουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχή- 198
ματα ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνενηνόχασιν οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως

ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον εὔνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ζῇς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ. πράττεταί τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφερειν; ἄφωνος Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἷον οὐκ ἔδει; πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπάσματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.

199 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται, βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καί μου πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προῇδεσαν πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ διεμαρτύρου βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' 29 οὕτως ἀποστατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ ἢ δόξης ἢ προγόνων ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε
200 λόγον. νῦν μέν γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ. τότε δ' ἀξιοῦσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἶτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν ἂν σοῦ;
201 μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμὼν δὲ καὶ κύριος ᾑρέθη Φίλιππος ἁπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε

χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν κίνδυνον ᾑρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλή- 202
νων, τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει, ὅ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἐᾷν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε 203
Ἀθηναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἠδυνήθη πώποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πεῖσαι τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης
296 κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα διατετέλεκεν. καὶ 204
ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ' εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ' ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιτο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἳ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι, τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἐζήτουν οἱ τότ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε 205
στρατηγὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύσουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἠξίουν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ

μητρὶ μόνον γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; ὅτι ὁ μὲν, τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δουλεύουσαν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἃς ἐν δουλευούσῃ τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

206 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἡ πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἑκάστοις τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί
207 φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων 297
ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται. εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὶ καταψηφιεῖσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης ἀγνω-
208 μοσύνῃ τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀράμενοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας,

οὓς ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἡ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν, Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ δαιμων ἔνειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηνται. ἔπειτ', ὦ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, 209
σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερῆσαι βουλόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες, ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὑτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὦ τριταγωνιστά, περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως μέντ' ἂν
298 ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀπὸ 210
τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τάς τε ἰδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίητε κρινοῦντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς 211
προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἃ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.

Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμε-

τέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότ' ἐπέμψαμεν
212 εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις. καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέχρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μέν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς ἑτέρως συμβάντων ἁπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι πραχθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὠμότερος συκοφάντης γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολήν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. 29

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηντο δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβαλόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τἆλλ' ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἥξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασ-

θησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταὐτὰ δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν 214
ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμησαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρεληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὅ τι δ' οὖν ἐπείσαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμ- 215
ποντο. ἐξῆτε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
300 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα. καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἓν μὲν ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης. καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἑλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ' ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατά γ' 216
ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέσχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δίς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς

πρώτας, τήν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίγνοντο ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς
217 θεοῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἡ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθῆτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῆν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὢν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας τοὺς θεούς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῆν, πῶς 3c
οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὁρῶν; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἦμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστήκει τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπείσθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἵας τότ' ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἵαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἔπεμπεν. καί μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ ταλαιπωρίαι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γε- 219
γόνασι ῥήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκεῖνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν ῥᾳστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερ- 220
ῆρας ῥώμῃ καὶ τόλμῃ ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παρα-
302 λείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ 221
ἐμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πρᾶξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, 222
Αἰσχίνη· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκεῖνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὸ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

223 Ταυτὶ τὰ ψηφίσματ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταὐτὰ ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραφεν οὑτοσί. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὔτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερείδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως
224 ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ κατηγορηκέναι ταὐτὰ γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μη- 3
κέτ' ἐᾷν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα. τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ'
225 αὑτοῦ, πρίν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὃ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προῄδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾠήθη τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
226 δοκεῖν τι λέγειν· οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἥκει, ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

227 Εἶτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἥκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελῆσαι,

ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογίζησθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ φύσει πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ᾖ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παρα- 22
δείγματος ὡμολόγηκε νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ ἂν μεταπείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐζήτει
304 μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἑκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μετα- 22
θέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥᾳδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμός) ἀλλ' ἀναμιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχέσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίους μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες ᾤοντο, μεθ' 23
ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκεῖνον κωλύειν ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι ἑπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς λῃστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον, συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἆρά σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς 23
φαίνεται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὠμότητος, ἣν ἐν

οἷς καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἑτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνος περιβαλλόμενος ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρπούς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐῶ ταῦτα.

232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἷα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγόρει, 305 παραδείγματα πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνυ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ
233 παρήνεγκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἡ πόλις καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῄειν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἶτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τἀδίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῷ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.

234 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν· χρημάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν προεξειλεγμένα· ὁπλίτην δ', ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι παρεσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ
235 φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ

μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς
ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ
Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς.
πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτο-
κράτωρ, ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἁπάν-
των· εἶθ' οὗτοι τὰ ὅπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀεί·
ἔπειτα χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν, ἃ δόξειεν
306 αὐτῷ, οὐ προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ
φανερῷ βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανό-
μων, οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς αὐτὸς δε-
σπότης, ἡγεμών, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦ- 236
τον ἀντιτεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον)
τίνος κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν
πρῶτον, οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προὐτίθεθ'
ὑμεῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ
ὅσα οὗτοι περιγένοιντο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο
ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βεβουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ 237
τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν
ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιούς, Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους,
Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι
μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι, δισχίλιοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ
τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων
δέ, ὅσων ἠδυνήθην ἐγώ, πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποί-
ησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, 238
Αἰσχίνη, ἢ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαντίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας,
ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ διαλέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς
ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγω-
νισαμένων τριήρων, τριακοσιων οὐσῶν των πασῶν,
τὰς διακοσίας ἡ πόλις παρέσχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦ-

σθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλεύσαντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑωρᾶτο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἕλλησι περιστάντος αὐτὴ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν
239 παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίζῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν 30 πράττειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ' ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίη τὰ πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαυνομένους προσδεξόμενος καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἕτοιμος.

240 Ἀλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ, καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν
241 τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀνθρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὡς ἐξεδόθησαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησπόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστη κε, καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ' ὅμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκόμισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁρμωμένων λῃστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, καὶ πολλά γε πρὸς τούτοις
242 ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος τἀνθρώπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον,

αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς ὄνησιν ἥκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενοῦσι μὲν τοῖς κάμνουσιν 243
308 εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσειέ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα διεξίοι "εἰ τὸ καὶ τὶ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος οὑτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν." ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις;

Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἧττα ν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾷς ἐφ' 244
ᾗ στένειν σε ὦ κατάρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὑτωσὶ δὲ λογίζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτὴς ἐπέμφθην ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, 245
καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν εἴς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνάμεως ἀξιῶν ἕνα ὄντα κρείττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ τῆς γε ἑκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παραταξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύθυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν 246
ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. τίνα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα καὶ προαισθέσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα

πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἑκασταχοῦ βραδυτῆτας ὄκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι πρόσεστιν ἁπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἁμαρτήματα, ταῦθ' 30
ὡς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τοὐναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι. καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ
247 οὐδεὶς μή ποθ' εὕρῃ κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο ὁντινοῦν, τίσι τὰ πλεῖστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε διῳκήσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ διαφθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.
248 Ἃ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἑτέροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ δ' οἱ πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπραττον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβεβηκώς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα τῆς φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τείχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἱρούμενος 31
249 σιτώνην ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ

μετὰ ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν, καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπαγόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δήπου καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὔτ' ἀπόνοια Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διώνδου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν τούτους κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεούς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμην. δικαίως· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμωμοκότων καὶ γνόντων τὰ εὔορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν 250
ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγγελλόμην, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθέ μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότ' ἐψηφίζεσθε τὰ ἄριστά με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέφευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμην· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ ἀδωροδοκήτως πάντα πεπρᾶχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσῆκον ἢ τί δίκαιον ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς ὀμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι βεβαιοῦσαν;

Ναί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ 251
μηδεμίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔδαιμόν
311 γε. ἀλλὰ τί μᾶλλον ὁ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως; καίτοι πρός γε τοῦτον,

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφήν, ὥστε ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὡμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου χείρων πολίτης.

252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἄν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μέν, ὅστις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦμαι· ἣν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδίζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ' ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέστερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ
253 περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἣ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινήν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων
254 οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγαθῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι καὶ μὴ 311
πάνθ' ὡς ἠβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος
255 μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτωσὶ

περὶ τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὡς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν εἶναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν 256
Αἰσχίνη προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, κἂν εὕρῃς τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καί μου πρὸς Διὸς μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῷ μηδείς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὔτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ 257
προσήκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρον ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμίας φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα
313 ἑλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλάκις ἐστεφανῶσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν ἃ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτῃ συμ- 258
βεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπῆσαί τινα

ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι· σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ
259 ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἆλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι
260 σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευό- 31
μενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς
261 αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης πότε καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ

κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ
μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας αὐτὸν τοῖς βαρυ- 2
στόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ
καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς
καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
τρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν
ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἦν
γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς
πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως
τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς
σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτι- 2
άσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδι-
οῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν,
ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν
εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγὼ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς
καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς
σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ
ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ὁπάντων ὦψαι. καίτοι ὅστις 2
χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος
παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν
315 ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ
ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη,
πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ 2
βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώ-
τησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ' ἕκα-
στος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.
ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ'
ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν.

ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι· σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνυνόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς ταύτην ποίᾳ τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχῃ, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφης, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ
259 ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τἆλλα συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ὀλολύξαι
260 σεμνυνόμενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγγεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον), ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕης ἄττης ἄττης ὕης, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττοφόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων προσαγορευό- 31
μενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἔνθρυπτα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὡς ἀληθῶς
261 αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφης ὁπωσδήποτε, ἐῶ γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης, εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγης πότε καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ

κατήσχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προϋπηργμένων τῷ
μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας αὐτὸν τοῖς βαρυ- 262
στόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ
καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς
καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
τρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν
ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠγωνίζεσθε· ἢν
γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς
πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως
τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὶς
σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ παρεὶς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτι- 263
άσαιτ' ἄν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδι-
οῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην γὰρ εἵλου πολιτείαν,
ἐπειδή ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν
εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγῷ βίον ἔζης δεδιὼς
καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγήσεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς
σαυτῷ συνῄδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ
ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὢν ὑφ' ὁπάντων ὤψαι. καίτοι ὅστις 264
χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε, τί οὗτος
παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν; πολλὰ τοίνυν
315 ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ γὰρ
ὅσ' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνείδη,
πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κἀμοὶ 265
βεβιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνη· εἶτ' ἐρώ-
τησον τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἕλοιθ' ἕκα-
στος αὐτῶν. ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.
ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ'
ἠκκλησίαζον. ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν.

ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πε-
266 πολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐῶ
τἆλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφα-
νωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνω-
μολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὲν εἶναι δόκεῖν ὑπ-
άρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἴτε δεῖ σ' ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ'
ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα τὸ πέμπτον μέρος
τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γε, οὐχ ὁρᾷς; τύχῃ συμβεβιω-
κὼς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.
267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας ὧν
λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι
καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου,

ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας

καὶ

κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα
οὗτοι πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην
καὶ τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

68 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοιοῦτος· ἐν
δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλ-
άνθρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ 31(
οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων
οὐδεμίαν μαρτυρίαν, οὔτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων
ἐλυσάμην, οὔτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε
τῶν τοιούτων οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπείληφα.
69 ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνῆσθαι
πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλε-

λῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρηστοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικρο-
ψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου· τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας
εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν μικροῦ δεῖν
ὅμοιόν ἐστὶ τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοιοῦτον
οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ' ὑπείλημ-
μαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.

Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἔτι μικρὰ 270
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἔχεις, Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν
ἀνθρώπων ὅστις ἀθῷος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ
νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἢ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοι
τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βού-
λει πάντων αἰτίαν γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδε- 271
πώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ
πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπόνθασι, μὴ μόνον κατ'
ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιό-
τερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν ἁπάντων, ὡς ἔοικεν,
ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ φοράν τινα πραγμάτων
χαλεπὴν καὶ οὐχ οἵαν ἔδει τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι;
σὺ τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς ἐμὲ τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπο- 272
λιτευμένον αἰτιᾷ, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ
317 ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς βλασφημίας ἅπασι,
καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐ-
τοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν
ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι· εἰ δὲ 273
παρῆτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἁπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν
κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἡ πόλις προὐτίθει σκοπεῖν,
πᾶσι δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδόκει τότ' ἄριστ' εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα
σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων

καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἃ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώμενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον), πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκα-
274 λῶν, ὧν τότ' οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα πως τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκών; ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ. οὔτ' ἀδικῶν τις οὔτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἁπάντων; οὐκ ὀνειδίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοι-
275 ούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνάχθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τοῖς ἀγράφοις νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ὠμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυχημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

276 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἁπλῶς καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκὼς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι 311
μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἐὰν πρότερός τις εἴπῃ τὰ προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς ποτ' αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον
277 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κἀκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ', ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα—ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ'

ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον κυρίους· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρονεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστι καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὑρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τοὐναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δικαίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρῆται. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἔχθραν οὔτ' 27
ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ βεβαιοῦν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀνάγκη, πράως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις· ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς δὲ ἀδικήματος πώ- 27
319 ποτε δημοσίου, προσθησω δὲ μηδ' ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου κατηγορίαν ἥκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσὶ λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικροψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἐάσαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ' ἥκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καί μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ τούτων, 28
Αἰσχίνη, λόγων ἐπίδειξίν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας βου-

λόμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα,
οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ'
οὐχ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος Αἰσχίνη τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ
τόνος τῆς φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταὐτὰ προαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς
πολλοῖς καὶ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὅσ-
81 περ ἂν ἡ πατρίς. ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχήν,
οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ' ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις
προορᾶταί τινα κίνδυνον ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων
οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμεῖ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ
τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ',
ὁρᾷς; ἐγώ· ταὐτὰ γὰρ συμφέρονθ' εἱλόμην τουτοισί,
82 καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ' ἴδιον πεποίημαι. ἆρ' οὖν
οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην
πρεσβευτὴς ἐπορεύου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν
ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι,
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθε χρόνον
ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ
τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ λέγων ἃ φρονεῖ;
τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως; οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ;
τί δὲ μεῖζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα κατ' ἀνδρὸς
ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταὐτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει; σὺ τοίνυν
83 οὗτος εὑρέθης. εἶτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέπειν εἰς τὰ 320
τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ γιγνώ-
σκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ λήθην
ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους οὓς
ἐδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρώμενος καὶ δι-
ομνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα,
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας
84 ἕνεκ' ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὖσαν ἀληθῆ; ὡς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη
τάχισθ' ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως

ὡμολόγεις καὶ προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν, τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τουτωνὶ συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω φανερῶς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτὴς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγονὼς ἐμοὶ λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζεις ταῦτα, ὧν παντας μᾶλλον αἰτίους εὑρήσεις.

Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη, 2
καὶ προείλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἠμνημόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα οὐ σὲ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὔφωνον ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ. καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους
321 ὠμῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταὐτὰ ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειροτόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον 2
οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ φράσω σοι κἀγώ. ἀμφότερ' ᾔδεσαν αὐτοί, τήν τ' ἐμὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἠρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν ἡ πόλις ὡμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι. εἶτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν 2

ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ' ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγενημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην, ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν —· τοῦτο δ' ἑώρων παρ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὔ. διὰ ταῦτ'
188 ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἱρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τἆλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἑκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρω· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα 322
διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων λύπης πλεῖστον μετεῖχεν.

189 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προείλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῇς Αἰσχίνη καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιαρόν. Λέγε.

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἵδε πάτρας ἕνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
ὅπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀΐδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆ
οὕνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.

γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων
σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἥδε κρίσις·
μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν,
ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὔ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, τὸ μηδὲν 29
ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν· οὐ τῷ
συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους
ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κα-
τάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ
καὶ τοῖς σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλήν;

Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα 29
κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστ'
ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε
τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὔνους καὶ δίκαιος
πολίτης ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ'
323 ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν
φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ
κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δεῖγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ
ὅτι τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνιαροῖς οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε
τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πολι- 29
τείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ
εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταὐτὰ λυπεῖσθαι
καὶ ταὐτὰ χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προ-
αιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τε-
τάχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ
πάντων αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων
ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας
οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἕλλησι
βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' 29
ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιῶσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ

πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φήσαιμι (ἀδικοίην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὔτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὗτός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλεν.

294 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῷ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα κατηγορηκότος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου; ὃς γὰρ ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ καταψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τὴν τῶν γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἑκάστῃ 324
295 τῶν πόλεων εὕροιτ' ἄν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἳ ὅτ' ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά, πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' αἰσχροκερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείροντες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἱερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, Ἀργείους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἠλείους Εὐξίθεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχμος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος Δημάρατος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἕλιξος Περίλαος, Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας Ἵππαρχος

Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με λέγοντα ἡ 296
ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι πάντες
εἰσίν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν
ταῖς αὑτῶν πατρίσιν ὧνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρω-
ποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἠκρωτηρια-
σμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλ-
εξάνδρῳ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις
τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα
ἔχειν δεσπότην αὑτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἕλλησιν
ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοή- 297
325 του συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ
ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἶτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς
ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευο-
μένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφθαρέντων ἁπάντων,
ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου
νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλαν- 298
θρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπὶς
οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο
ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν
προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε του-
τοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ
λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας
καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγιστων δὴ πραγ-
μάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστὰς πάντα
ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι. διὰ ταῦτ' 299

ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον, ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; πόρρω μέντοι που τῶν ἐμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγιστον τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομέ-
300 νους. ταῦτα προὐβαλόμην ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττήθην ἐγὼ 32
τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατηγοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδείξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φαναραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

301 Τί χρῆν τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης τὴν Εὔβοιαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελοπόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτῃ; οὐ τὴν σιτοπομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πει-
302 ραιῶς κομισθήσεται, προϊδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γράφοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πρᾶξαι, τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἄβυδον, τὴν Εὔβοιαν; καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν

δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 303
ναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόνου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, ὀρθῶς εὑρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὸν ἑκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἧκεν, οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ δαί-
μονός τινος ἢ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἢ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἢ πάντα
327 ταῦτα ἐλυμαινετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δημοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ 304
τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ τάξιν, εἷς ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἕνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία καὶ ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταὐτὰ φρονοῦντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί, οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν,
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἂν ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ 305
πάσης ἀδείας ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ᾤκουν πατρίδας, τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτε ὅτι πολλῷ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττοσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν 306
καγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίσ-
τοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως

προσῆν, ὡς ἑτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν
307 οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίναναν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀπο-
στάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνῆσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδέ γ' ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὕπουλον, ὃ σὺ
308 ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ 3
συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἁπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέβηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ δὲ τἀνθρώπινα)· εἶτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ πεφωνασκηκὼς καὶ συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί, ὄνησιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν φέρονταν οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμφορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι
309 τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην. καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη, εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντα προῃρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν,

νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἁπάντων ἦν ἐν 310
τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ φανήσει γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος, οὐ τετάρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὁποστοσοῦν, οὔκουν ἐπί γ' οἷς ἡ πατρὶς ηὐξάνετο. τίς γὰρ συμμαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε 311
τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης;
329 τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἱππικόν; τί τῶν ἁπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων; οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', 312
ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὔνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγξαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδοσαν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρῆλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων 313
τοῦ παρόντος ἐμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι

παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύῃ. ἐν τίσιν οἶν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέῃ, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφωνότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.

314 Εἶτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὔνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν 33
πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν
315 νῦν ζῶντα μεθ' ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς τεθνεῶτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὔτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταὐτά σοι προῃρημένων καὶ ζώντων.
316 κἀκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις, οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμὸν ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλαν-
317 θρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμὴ πολιτεία καὶ προαίρεσις, ἄν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότ' ἐπαινουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοία καὶ ταὐτὰ βουλομένη φανήσεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαντούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσάν τινες οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γεγενη-

μένους ἐπῄνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταὐτὸ ποι-
οῦντες σοί. εἶτα λέγεις ὡς οὐδὲν ὅμοιός εἰμι ἐκείνοις 318
ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὅμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;
ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα
φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὦ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταζε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὑτόν,
331 ὥσπερ τἆλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς,
τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ 319
Καρυστίου καί τινων ἑτέρων πρότερον γεγενημένων
ἀθλητῶν ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς
Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῄει, ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο, ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνη-
γορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὅρα με ῥήτορας,
πρὸς σαυτόν, πρὸς ὅντινα βούλει τῶν ἁπάντων·
οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὧν, ὅτε μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτισ- 320
τα ἑλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαμίλλου τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα
εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης, ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων
ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις
καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διῳκεῖτο, ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν
οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τούτοις ἐπηρεάσαι τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἃ μή ποτ' ὤφελε συνέβη, καὶ οὐκέτι συμβούλων
ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιτάττομένοις ὑπηρετούντων καὶ
τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν ἑτοίμων καὶ τῶν
κολακεύειν ἑτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέτασις, τηνικαῦτα
σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ μέγας καὶ λαμ-
πρὸς ἱπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής, ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ'
εὔνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ', ἄνδρες Ἀθη- 321
ναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν δεῖ (οὕτω
γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώτατον
εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ

τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν, ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὔνοιαν· τούτου γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα. ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὑρή-
322 σετε ἁπλῶς. ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία 332
μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδέδωκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πολιτείας εἱλόμην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος
323 θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὔξειν, μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἑτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἴωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι, οἳ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὑτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασι δεῖν τηρεῖν.

324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπινεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν τῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

NOTES.

CH. 1—9. Exordium: opening address to the Dicasts.

1 **πρῶτον μέν**, followed by *ἔπειτα* without *δέ*, is frequently found in Demosthenes and other Greek writers. See Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, § 188. B 5. **πᾶσιν ὑμῖν**. Aeschines (*in Ctes.* ch. 56) tells us that a greater number of Athenian citizens and foreigners attended to hear this trial than had ever been known to come to any public suit within the memory of man. **διατελῶ ἔχων**, "which I have always entertained, and still continue to entertain." **εὐσεβείας**. It concerned their piety on account of the oath they had taken, "*ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγόρου καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν.*"

2 **τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν**, "the absence of all prejudice on either side." **τῇ τάξει...ἀπολογίᾳ**, "the method and subject-matter of his pleading;" *τάξις* here, as in ch. 56, alludes to the arrangement of topics which each party might choose to adopt. *ἀπολογία* is here used generally, applicable either to the plaintiff or defendant. The whole passage refers to Aesch. *in Ctes.* 202—206.

3 **ἐκ περιουσίας, κ.τ.λ.** "But Aeschines accuses me at a great advantage." Lit. "from a surplus, from abundant resources." "Because he possesses not, like me, the esteem and affection of the people, and therefore has not the loss of these to fear." C. R. Kennedy. Comp. Thuc. v. 103, *τοὺς ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους ἐλπίδι*, which Arnold renders "Those who apply to hope when they have much which they do not risk on the chance of success." See his note. Comp. also Dem. *c. Steph.* I. 67, *οἱ ἐκ περιουσίας πονηροί·* and Thuc. VIII. 46. 5. Dissen translates *ἐκ περιουσίας* "*ex mera insolentia,*" but this destroys the antithesis to *πολλὰ...ἐλαττοῦμαι* and *ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέν. ἕτερον δέ*, sub. *ἐλαττοῦμαι.*

4 **πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν**="almost every one." Lat. "*propè dixerim omnes.*" **ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν**, "to use a single word, to speak in round numbers." This phrase qualifies such words as

πᾶς, οὐδεὶς. Its opposite, "to speak precisely," is ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ. Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 341 B.

5 **ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί·** "deserving of zealous attention on my part." Compare a similar use of the dative in Eurip. *Hec.* 309, "ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄξιος τιμῆς, γυναί."

πάντων ἀποστερεῖσθαι, "loss in every case," not "the loss of every thing."

6 **δημοτικός,** "public-spirited, patriotic." πολιτικός has the same sense in ch. 13. **ὁ δημοτικός** (ch. 122) "the popular leader." Cf. Arist. *Nub.* 1190, ὁ Σόλων ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν φιλόδημος τὴν φύσιν. Aeschin. *in Ctes.* 168.

7 **παρελθεῖν,** "to overcome, get the better of," literally, to pass by in a race, therefore appropriately used in connection with ὁ διώκων and τῷ φεύγοντι. Arist. *Equit.* 275, ἦν δ' ἀναιδείᾳ παρέλθῃς, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμοῦς. "nostra est *adorea*." **κοινόν,** "impartial."

8 **παρακαλέσαι,** "to summon" as it were my coadjutors (fautores) into court. See note on ch. 143.

9—53. Refutation of charges foreign to the main question, ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς.

ἀλλοτριώτερον, κ.τ.λ. "May listen with alienated feelings to my just arguments (or justification) touching the indictment," as τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια above. Demosthenes often uses ὑπέρ in cases where we should find περί in other writers; and sometimes both ὑπέρ and περί in the same sentence with no perceptible difference of meaning. See for instance *Fals. Leg.* 107 (96).

10 **καταψηφίσασθε ἤδη,** "pass a vote of censure upon me at once." **καταψηφίζομαι** the opposite word to ἐπαινῶ, to pass a vote of thanks. **ἐκ βελτιόνων,** "coming from a better stock." **τῶν μετρίων,** "respectable citizens." **ἐπαχθές,** "arrogant, invidious," the same metaphor of *weight* applied to character in ch. 19, οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς Θηβαῖοι.

11 **κακοήθης,** "maliciously cunning." **εὐήθης,** "foolishly simple." The same use of εὐ in comp. in a questionable sense occurs ch. 70, ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς δ τι ἂν βουλήθῃς. **οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι,** "I am not so infatuated," probably derived from τῦφος, smoke; though Harpocration gives several other derivations. See Mr Shilleto's note on *Fals. Leg.* 241 (219). **πομπείας... γεγενημένης,** "the ribaldry you have so unrestrainedly uttered." **ἀνέδην**=*immissis habenis*, from ἀνίημι. For πομπεία see on ch. 122.

12 **ἐπήρεια**, or **ἐπηρεασμός**, defined by Arist. *Rhet.* II. ii. 3 as that kind of spite which thwarts another, *οὐχ ἵνα τι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκείνῳ*, such as that of the dog in the manger.

13 **οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.** The translation of this difficult passage appears to be as follows: "It is not fair to deprive any one of his privilege of coming before the people and obtaining a hearing: nor at any rate (=much less) is it fair to do this on the ground (*ἐν τάξει*, a military term) of mere spite and envy. By heaven, it is neither right, nor public-spirited, nor just." Some refer *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι* to Ctesiphon (comparing ch. 15, ult.) and consider the words *ἀφαιρεῖσθαι* to *τυχεῖν*=*ζημιοῦν ἀτιμίᾳ τὸν Κτησιφῶντα*, which would be the case if he were convicted by *γραφὴ παρανόμων*. But if we look to the parallel passage in Aesch. *Ctes.* 202, it will appear more probable that Demosthenes alludes to his own case. Aeschines there says, "When Ctesiphon gets up to answer me, he will say *κάλει, κάλει*, 'call Demosthenes:' against the state you call him, Athenians," &c. It is of this that Demosthenes here complains. **ἐτραγῴδει καὶ διεξῄει**=*τραγικῶς διεξῄει*, "he detailed so dramatically"—the first hit at Aeschines' former profession of actor. **παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα**, "at the time when the offences themselves were committed:" ch. 15, *τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους*. **εἰσαγγελίας**. The distinction between *δίκη, γραφή*, and *εἰσαγγελία* is as follows, *δίκη*, primarily, *any legal proceeding whatsoever*, then in a more limited sense *a civil action; γραφή*, an action in which *the state* appears as a party injured, immediately (*γραφὴ δημοσία*) or mediately (*γραφὴ ἰδία*); *εἰσαγγελία*, a form of proceeding against offences not provided for by statute, "impeachment." **εἰ δὲ γράφοντα, κ.τ.λ.** "If he saw me proposing any illegal measures, he should have indicted me for illegal proposition. For of course he cannot now be prosecuting Ctesiphon on my account," &c. *δήπου* in Demosthenes is strongly ironical.

15 **ὑποκρίνεται**, "plays the actor," inf. 287. **προΐσταται** (=*πρόφασιν ποιεῖται, de vera causa*, Schaef.) "makes the prominent or chief object." **οὐδαμοῦ**, "on no former occasion:" in ch. 251, he boasts that Aeschines had never brought a single action against him.

16 (fin.) **τοῦτό γε**, the *γε* is strongly emphatic, as frequently. So ch. 1, *σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε*, "for this would be indeed a hard case."

17 **ἀνατιθείς**, "imputing, throwing the blame upon." Thus *ἀναφορά*, 219, signifies "something to throw the blame upon." **ἵνα...θεωρῆτε**, "that you may consider each measure with reference to the *then* existing circumstances."

18 **τοῦ γάρ Φωκικοῦ, κ.τ.λ.** The Phocian or Sacred War began 357 B.C., and ended in 346. See Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. v. ch. 44. **γάρ**, "*narrativum*," as it may be called, must not be translated, it merely serves to usher in the coming narration. **ἐφησθῆναι**, "to rejoice *over*, or exult in" the misfortunes of another, generally expressed in the Tragedians by *ἐπιχαίρω*. So *ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα, Prom. Vinct.* v. 164, &c. See Blomf. Gloss. on the word.

19 **συνέκρουε**, "kept bringing into collision, causing to clash:" Lat. *collidere*. **ἐφύετο**=*ηὐξάνετο*, "was increasing his strength." **ὡς δέ...ἐπηγγείλατο**, "But when it became manifest to all men that the once haughty, now unfortunate Thebans, reduced to extremities by the length of the war, would be compelled to fly to you for refuge; Philip, to prevent this from happening, and the different states from coalescing, offered peace to you, and succour to them." **τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου**: the Sacred war had lasted nine years.

20 **ὡς ἔργῳ φανερὸν γέγονεν**, "as the event has proved." **συνελάμβανον**, "were ready to aid you."

21 **Ἀριστόδημος** was one of the first embassy of ten who set out from Athens in February, 346. **ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας**, "who followed him on the same side and drew up the resolution:" *ἐκδέχομαι*, properly "to take in succession from another," as in *Fals. Leg.* 41 (37) and 369 (321). In Aesch. *Agam.* 288, *ἐκδοχὴ πομποῦ πυρός* is the regular succession or relays of the telegraphic beacons. In this sense of "supporting a motion," Aeschin. (*Ctes.* 62) has the word *ὑποδοχή*, "*λέγειν ἅπαντα εἰς ὑποδοχὴν Φιλοκράτει.*"

22 **ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας**, "resting on, based upon the naked truth:" a similar force of *ἐπί* is found in the expression *ἐπὶ μαρτυρίας*, "*on* evidence." Cf. inf. 233, note. **πρᾶξιν καὶ ξυμμαχίαν**, "negotiation (in general) and alliance (in particular)." **παρελθών**, scil. *ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα.*

23 **πάλαι...ἐξεληλεγμένοι**, "the dispositions of all of them had been long since thoroughly tested." **ὑγιὲς οὐδέν**, "not a word of truth."

24 **αὐτοὶ δέ.** In the nominative *αὐτός* is invariably emphatic in all numbers and genders: in the oblique cases not necessarily so. **Εὐρυβάτου.** This Eurybatus or Eurybates was an Ephesian whom Croesus sent with a large sum of money to hire mercenaries in Peloponnesus. He betrayed Croesus to his enemy Cyrus, and his name passed into a proverb. Cf. Plat. *Protag.* p. 327, Aeschin. *Ctes.* 137. **ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ὤν**, "it is clear that I am," "I am *proved* to be."

25 **βουλεύων**, "being a member of the *βουλή*," or council of Five Hundred. The word is here used in its primary sense, as below, 28, *εἰ δὲ βουλεύων ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ.* So *γραμματεύω*, "to be a *γραμματεύς*, or assembly-clerk," *πρυτανεύω*, &c.

26 **τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἠδύνατο**, *Quod hoc sibi volebat?* Diss. **τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον.** The interval between the departure of the embassy from Athens, and the exaction of the oaths from Philip. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* 181 (164). **ὁ δὲ...ἐπραγματεύετο**, "whereas this had been the special object of his schemes from the very first." **ὅσα...προλάβοι**, "whatever dependencies of the state he could preoccupy."

27 **ταῦτα...διέσυρε**, "these fortresses which Æschines was just now speaking so slightingly of:" **διασύρω**, "pull to pieces, disparage," a peculiarly Demosthenic word, which we shall meet with many times. **τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνόν.** The article is used because Aeschines had previously mentioned these places (*Ctes.* 82) contemptuously, saying that Demosthenes "*πρῶτος ἐξεῦρεν...ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ᾔδειμεν πρότερον.*" Herodotus however had heard the names of two of them before (see lib. VII. cap. 59), and calls Serrium *ἄκρη ὀνομαστή*, "a celebrated headland" on the Thracian coast. **οὕτω**, "when affairs were in this position."

28 **μὴ προσάγειν...δήπου**, "Should I have proposed *not* to introduce the ambassadors, who were come for the express purpose of negotiating with you? Should I have given orders to the lessee of the theatre *not* to assign them a place as spectators? Why, they would have taken their places in the two-obol seats, even if my proposition had never been made. Was it my duty to secure so trivial a gain as this to the State, but all the while to have sold the common weal to Philip, as these men have done? I trow not." Read *τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα θεάν*, cf. *Mid.* p. 572. **ἀρχιτέκτων**, "lessee," according to Boeckh. The *προεδρία* was given by courtesy to distinguished foreigners. **ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν**, so Arist. *Vesp.* 789, *ἐν τοῖς ἰχθυσιν*, "in the fish-market." *Equit.* 1375, *ἐν τῷ μύρῳ*, "the scent-shop."

29 **Ψήφισμα.** See Appendix A. **ὑπερβολήν**, "delay." *ἀναβολή* is more common in this sense.

30 **βραχύ...οὗτοι**, "These worthy gentlemen of the embassy, taking small heed of my decree, sat idle for three whole months in Macedonia;" see *Fals. Leg.* 171 (155). *κάθημαι*, "to sit doing nothing." Cf. Herod. III. 134, 151.

31 **πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι**, "that I am at war and enmity." The combination of two synonyms is a common

pleonasm in Demosthenes, employed acc. to Dionys. Hal. (*π. δεινότ.* c. 58) for the sake of clearness (*σαφήνεια*) and rhythm (*εὐρυθμία*). Cf. inf. 248, *εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακώς*, and §§ 14, 22, 53, 138 (Rehdantz's Demosthenes, Index I. p. 166 ff.). Here the ordinary expression *διαφέρεσθαι* follows the trope *πολεμεῖν*.

32 **ἐπειδὴ γάρ.** See above on ch. 18. **ὥσπερ πρότερον.** This "former occasion" occurred in the early part of the Sacred war, B.C. 352. It is alluded to in *Fals. Leg.* 95 (84), and *Philip.* I. 17. See Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. V. ch. 43.

33 **ἐκφύγοι...αὐτόν**, "the opportunity should escape him." Cf. *Phil.* III. 3.

34 **ἀξιῶ**, "I expect, claim as my right." **δέομαι**, "I entreat," as a favour on your parts.

35 **οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα...συμφέρειν**, "For it is not words that cement friendships, quoth he, phrasing it pompously enough, but identity of interest." **ἀναλγησία**, "heartlessness." *ἀνάλγητος* or *δυσάλγητος* means "deficient in *feeling*," *ἀναίσθητος* "deficient in *sense*." This distinction is well illustrated, inf. ch. 128, *ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν...περίεστιν*, "by their stupidity they cause their hearers to feel hurt."

36 **ὑποῦσαν**=*ὑπάρχουσαν*, "previously existing." **Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι**, this occurred B.C. 346, see Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. V. (end). **σκευαγωγεῖν**, "had to bring in all the moveable property." **ἀπέχθειαν...χάριν**, cf. *Fals. Leg.* p. 368, *ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάρν πεποίηκε.*

37 **Ψήφισμα.** See Appendix A.

κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι. Lat. *pernoctare.* **ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀποτεταγμένοι**, "detached on garrison duty."

38 **τοῖς...ἐπιτιμίοις.** The ordinary penalties for *προδοσία* were death, confiscation of property, and disfranchisement of the posterity of the *προδοτής*. But we must suppose that the court had a discretionary power of mitigation in the less heinous kinds of treason. **ἐάν...ἐπιδεικνύῃ**, "unless he can distinctly prove circumstances in his own case, which made it impossible to comply." **τι ἀδύνατον**, "some *case* of impossibility," as ch. 108, *πολλὰ τὰ ἀδύνατα ξυνέβαινεν.* **τῶν ὅπλων**=*τῶν ὁπλίτων.* **ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως.** Boeckh tells us to supply *ταμίας*, but it is more probably *στρατηγός*, "the general of the administration," who was, we may suppose, paymaster of the forces.

39 **τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδέν, κ.τ.λ.** "The general tenor of your policy appears to be lacking moderation, in that ye have concluded a treaty, and yet all the same (as if there were *no* treaty, *ὁμοίως*) are preparing to lead out a force against me."

40 **πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους**, "for the benefit of his own allies—for them to understand." **οὐ τούτοις...δεικνύναι**, "not writing it in so many words, but this was the meaning he intended to convey." **ᾤχετο ἐκείνους λαβών**, "the result was that he brought them to such a state of mind as not to foresee," &c. **οἱ ταλαίπωροι**, "the unfortunates."

41 **δῆλον γάρ...πράξαντος**: the whole of this passage is ironical. Translate, "For of course, Aeschines, *you* are pained by what has occurred, and pity the Thebans, you that have property in Boeotia, and are now farming their acres; whilst *I*, on the contrary, rejoice—I whose surrender was immediately demanded by the author of these disasters," i.e. by Alexander, B.C. 335, after the destruction of Thebes. He at first demanded eight of the popular leaders at Athens, but did not press this condition subsequently. **γεωργεῖς**, cf. *Fals. Leg.* 360 (314). Demosthenes tells us that the yearly value of these farms was half a talent. *F. L.* 158 (145).

42 **αὐτίκα**, "presently." **ἐπάνειμι**, "so I will go back again to the evidence," &c.

43 **πάντ'...αὐτοῖς**, "Philip was all in all to them." **ἦγον... πολεμούμενοι**. The common reading is *ἦγον τὴν εἰρήνην ἄσμενοι, καὶ* "were glad enough to maintain the peace, as they themselves also had for a long time past been engaged in a kind of desultory warfare."

44 **Ἰλλυριούς**: Philip finally conquered the Illyrians, B.C. 344, see Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. VI. ch. 45. He broke his collarbone during the campaign, cf. ch. 67. **Τριβαλλούς**; he defeated the Triballi on his return from Scythia, and was wounded in the leg during the action (ch. 67). **ἐπὶ τῇ...ἐξουσίᾳ**, "on the strength of the peace." **εἰ δὲ μή...πρὸς ἐμέ**, "whether they failed to penetrate his designs, is another question altogether, it has nothing to do with me." *ἄλλος*, or *ἕτερος λόγος*, a proverbial expression, Lat. *alia est ea quaestio*. Cf. Plat. *Apol. Soc.* ch. 23, *εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μή, ἄλλος λόγος*. Dem. *Phil.* III. 16.

45 **ἐνόσουν**, "were politically diseased." Cf. *Philipp.* III. 39, *ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ Ἑλλάς*. **ἰδιωτῶν**, "men not in any public office," opp. to *τῶν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι*. **τοιουτονί...βούλωνται**, "All being similarly affected, more or less; each thinking that the danger would surely come, but not to their own doors; and that by means of their neighbours' perils themselves would at pleasure be able to secure their own interests."

46 **ἀκούουσιν**, *audiunt*, "are called."

47 **οὐδέν**, suppl. before this *εἰ μὴ οὕτως εἶχε*, "otherwise."

εὐδαιμονέστερον = εὐδαιμονέστερον πρᾶγμα, the neuter used as a substantive predicatively to denote the *essence* of a *class* of objects, Madvig. *G. Synt.* § 1, b. 3, cf. Eur. *Alc.* 693 τὸ ζῆν σμικρόν, infra ch. 242, πονηρὸν ὁ συκοφάντης, κ.τ.λ. τὴν δὲ πονηρίαν, κ.τ.λ. It is unnecessary to take δέ here as marking the apodosis which begins with καὶ τῶν ταῦτα..., "he is also master of those who sold it him (ταῦτα = τὰ πράγματα), and, knowing their wickedness, then, then," &c.

48 Δασθένης, &c. For an account of these traitors, see *Dict. Biograph.* Demosthenes gives a more copious list of them in ch. 295. εἶτ' ἐλαυνομένων...γέγονεν, "Afterwards every part of Greece was overrun by traitors, driven as they were into exile, insulted, and suffering every imaginable kind of ill-treatment." ἡ οἰκουμένη, "the Grecian world:" the expression is used of the Roman world by various writers.

49 τὸ ἔχειν...περιποιεῖ, "saves you a country to sell," literally, "preserves that for which you get your bribes paid you." διὰ τοὺς πολλούς...ἀπολώλειτε, "you have to thank the majority of these my hearers, and those who withstood your designs, that you are now safe and in pay; since had it depended on yourselves alone, you would long ago have been ruined." διά γε ὑμᾶς, "for all *you* could do to prevent it," so "*per*" is used in Latin, Cic. *Div.* x. 1, "*nunquam per Antonium quietus fui.*"

50 αἴτιος δέ...ἀπολύσασθαι, "For this Aeschines himself is answerable, since he has bespattered me as it were with the remains of a yesterday's debauch from his own villainy and crimes; whereof necessity compelled me to clear myself in the eyes of those who are too young to remember the facts." ἐωλοκρασία, comp. of ἔωλος and κρᾶσις, translated '*crapulam suae improbitatis*' by Taylor. It was a practical joke for those who remained awake longest at a symposium to smear the faces of their sleeping companions with the stale (ἔωλος) wine which was left. Lucian imitates this passage, *Lapith.* III. πολλὴν τὴν ἐωλοκρασίαν κατασκεδάσας τῶν φιλοσόφων. ἀπολύσασθαι, "to acquit, clear myself." Dissen rightly objects to ἀπολούσασθαι and ἀποκλύσασθαι, which have been proposed for the sake of carrying out the metaphor "*ne putida fiat metaphora.*"

51 καὶ νῦν...λέγων, "and just now, if you recollect, he used these expressions in the course of his speech." See Aesch. *Ctes.* 66.

52 ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν. The partisans of Demosthenes (οἱ ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθημένοι) here join in chorus.

53—126. Reply to the several counts of the Γραφή itself, or indictment of Ctesiphon.

54 ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων, subaud. γραφήν, "laid an indictment for illegal proposition." τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς = καιναῖς τραγῳδίαις. Aeschines gives the expression more fully, καινῶν τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. Cicero, *Phil.* I., uses "*gladiatoribus*" for "*ludis gladiatoriis.*"

55, 56. τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, subaud. εἰσόδῳ (Dissen) or εἰσαγωγῇ (Bremi). κλήτορες, "witnesses of the suit or summons." τῶν γεγραμμένων, "the counts of the indictment—*accusationis capita.*"

57 διατελεῖν πράττοντα. See on ch. 1. ἐπαινεῖν. See on ch. 10. τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι, "that the question lies in my public life;" "that my public life is the best criterion of this."

58 τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα: the construction is thus made out by Dissen, τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα γράψαι τοῦτο. ἐπειδὰν δῷ = *postquam dederit.* ἁπλῶς, "honestly."

59 καί με μηδείς...πεποιηκώς, "Let no one suppose that I am detaching my arguments from the indictment, when I fall into the mention of foreign policy and deliberations. For he who attacks that part of Ctesiphon's proposition which states 'that my public speeches and policy were unexceptionable;' he who has set down these statements as untrue; he it is who has made the discussion of my public conduct akin and even necessary to this indictment." ἐὰν ἐμπέσω, "if I fall (as assuredly I shall) into the mention," &c. Ἑλληνικάς, "Greek but non-Athenian." Cf. inf. 156. οἰκείους, "*cognatos,*" strictly appropriate. πολλῶν προαιρέσεων...τῆς πολιτείας, "many different *lines* of public life." προαίρεσις is properly "a deliberate choice or profession;" when used in connection with πολιτεία it implies the adoption of certain political principles, as we have below, ἡ ἐμὴ προαίρεσις καὶ πολιτεία, which in English we briefly express in one word "my *politics.*" τὰς ἀποδείξεις...ποιεῖσθαι, "wherefore I have a right to deduce my evidence too from them."

60 προὔλαβε καὶ κάτεσχε, "seized and kept." τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών, "having premised thus far." πλεονέκτημα...Φιλίππῳ, "Philip started with (ὑπῆρξε) one great source of advantage on his side."

61 φορὰν προδοτῶν, "a crop of traitors." So we have below, ch. 271, φορὰν πραγμάτων, "a harvest of troubles." Aesch. *Ctes.* 234, φορὰ ῥητόρων. Compare the Latin expressions *proventum scelerum,* Luc. *Phars.* II. 61: *seges telorum,* Virg. *Aen.* III. 46. διδούς, "offering bribes."

62 **συνισταμένου καὶ φυρομένου κακοῦ,** "of the mischief which was brewing and being kneaded together." But a better reading is *φυομένου,* "growing to a head," as *αὐτός...ἐφύετο* in ch. 19. Observe the collocation of *ἐγώ* at the end of the sentence="I, and I alone."

63 **φρόνημα,** "her pride, her high spirit." **ἢ τοῦτο...ἀληθῶς,** "or not actually to do this (terrible indeed would that have been), but yet," &c. For the construction of *ὡς ἀληθῶς,* see note on ch. 212.

65 **χεῖρον ἀπηλλάχασιν,** "have come off worse." Comp. Aesch. *Ctes.* 158, *οὐδεὶς πώποτε καλῶς ἀπήλλαξε Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησάμενος,* "no one ever yet came off with credit." Aesch. *Agam.* 1260, *οἱ δ' εἶχον πόλιν...οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει.* **κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων,** read *οὐκ ἐναντιωθέντων* with Dissen; the sense of the passage will then be, "had Philip behaved as moderately as possible, even then some slight (*τις*) blame and ground of complaint would have fallen on those who did not oppose his schemes."

66 **τὸν Ἀθήνησι.** *ἐμέ* is generally read, but perhaps is better omitted, as it separates *Ἀθήνησι* from the parenthesis which strictly belongs to it.

67 **ἐκκεκομμένον,** at the siege of Methone, near the Thessalian frontier, B.C. 353. The story is that the arrow which struck him was shot by one Aster, who labelled it with the words, *Ἀστὴρ Φιλίππῳ θανάσιμον πέμπει βέλος:* and Philip replied by the same method, *Ἀστέρα Φίλιππος ἢν λάβῃ κρεμήσεται,* a threat he executed after the capture of the city. **τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα,** "having his collar-bone broken," see on ch. 44. **τῷ λοιπῷ,** scil. *σώματι,* "with what his enemies had left of him."

68 **ἐν πᾶσι...θεωροῦσι,** "in everything that meets your eyes and ears, discovering something to remind you of the valour of your forefathers." **αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντάς.** This is not a mere pleonasm. *ἐθελονταί* is "of their free will," *αὐτεπάγγελτοι,* "at their own proposal," "without waiting to be asked." **παραχωρῆσαι ἐλευθερίας,** "to march off the ground of your freedom," i.e. to surrender it. Cf. ch. 273, *παρεχώρεις ἐλπίδων.* Aesch. *Ctes.* 5: *λήσετε κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς πολιτείας τισὶ παραχωρήσαντες,* "you will insensibly surrender the constitution." *ἐξίσταμαι* is used in the same sense, see on ch. 319.

69 **καὶ ἐγώ,** "I among the chief." **Ἀμφίπολιν, Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν.** See Thirlwall's *Greece,* v. pp. 195—8.

70 **οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα,** "I will proceed as though I were ignorant of them—I ignore them."

71 **Εὔβοιαν**: this "appropriation" of Euboea, as Demosthenes calls it, first took place about the year 351 B.C.; and Philip maintained a footing in the island by means of his creatures till the year 341, when they were expelled by Phocion. **Πορθμός**, a fort close to Eretria, alluded to *Philipp.* III. p. 125. **κατάγω**, "to bring back from exile," as *κατέρχομαι* is "to return," *κάθοδος*, "the act of returning." All these expressions are well illustrated Arist. *Ran.* 1151—1165.

72 **Μυσῶν λείαν**, "an unresisting prey," such as Mysia fell to the pirates. A proverbial expression of contempt, see Arist. *Rhet.* I. xii. 20. Compare the proverb Eur. *Cycl.* 656, *ἐν τῷ Καρὶ κινδυνεύσομεν*, "we will make our first (surgical) experiment on the Carian,"=*fiat experimentum in corpore vili.* These expressions well illustrate the contempt with which the Greeks universally regarded the Asiatics. **ἐμά**, emphatically placed, "on my head alone."

73 **Ψήφισμα**, B.C. 340. See Appendix A. **συναχθῶσι.** Schaefer would read *ξυναχθῇ*, which Dissen approves.

74 **εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον...λέγειν**, "But if neither of these suppositions is the true one, but either the sender (Philip) or the emissary (Amyntas) are solely in fault, the ambassadors must report this too." **ἰδίᾳ**, "solely"=*καθ' αὑτούς*, without any fault in the Athenian commander. **καὶ λέγειν**: the ellipse is *καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις.* The common reading is *καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι λέγειν*, "that they bid the ambassadors write word of this too."

75 **ἐχρημάτισαν**=Lat. *rettulerunt*, "proposed for discussion." **ἀνενεγκόντες**, "having made their report of what passed in the assembly." **ἀνακομιδῆς**, "the recovery." **Ἀριστοφῶν.** This Aristophon of Colyttus must not be confounded with Aristophon the Azenian, in whose old age, fifteen years before, Demosthenes entered on his public life. The Azenian passed a law respecting illegitimacy, B.C. 403. He is mentioned below, ch. 162, and Aesch. *in Ctes.* 139.

77 **πρόφασιν μέν...βοηθήσοντα δέ.** Here *δέ* has the unusual force of *ἔργῳ δέ*, and is by itself opposed to *πρόφασιν μέν.* Dissen compares Tacit. *Annal.* I. 44, where *ceterum* has the same sense: *Veterani in Rhaetiam mittuntur specie defendendae provinciae, ceterum ut avellerentur castris.* This construction would not be found in pure Greek; see note on *εὐχαριστία*, ch. 91. **Λῆμνον**, which belonged to Athens, Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* ch. 72, *Λῆμνον, Ἴμβρον, καὶ Σκύρον, τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων.* All these islands were ceded to them at the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, and had since remained in their possession.

78 **ἄνευ τοῦ δήμου**, "without the consent or sanction of the people." Goeller illustrates this sense of *ἄνευ*, Thucyd. I. 128, **τὰ νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα**, "the ships that were lately towed into my harbour."

79 **γεγράφει** should be *ἐγεγράφει*, or *ἔγραφε* with Dissen and others. The common reading *γέγραφε* is not a good Greek construction. **εἰχόμην τούτων**, "I was connected with them," literally, "I kept hold of them." **παρεδύετο**, "tried to creep or steal into." Aesch. *Ctes.* 37, *εἰ τοιοῦτον ἔθος παραδέδυκεν ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν.* **τυράννους**, Clitarchus, Hipparchus, and Automedon: see above, ch. 71, and Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. VI. ch. 45.

80 **ἀποστόλους**, "armaments," equipped according to Demosthenes' Trierarchic law; compare ch. 107. **περιεγένετο**, "was the result;" so *περίεστι*, ch. 128, 201.

81 **ἐφ' ὑμᾶς**, "*to go* against you from them:" *ἐφ' ὑμῖν* would simply mean "against you, to your detriment." The accusative implies that Eretria would be an *ἐπιτείχισμα* to Philip, a place from whence he could easily invade Attica.

82 **κατέλυον**, "lodged," *κατάλυμα*, *deversorium*, the place where the beasts of burden were *unyoked*. Thucyd. I. 136 uses the verb with *παρὰ* and the accusative case, *παρὰ τὸν Μολοσσῶν βασιλέα καταλῦσαι.* **προὔξένεις** = *ἦσθα πρόξενος, patronus eras.* *προξενία* expressed the relation connecting *a state* with an individual of another country; *ξενία* the relation between two individuals of different countries, or that between two different states. **καὶ λέγων ὡς σιωπῶ...τήμερον**, "You who say that I hold my peace when I have received a bribe, but make an outcry when I have spent it. At any rate this is not your way. You cry out with the bribe in your pocket; and as for stopping, you will never do that, unless the judges here stop your mouth by disfranchising you this day." The words of Aeschines are *λαβὼν σεσίγηκας, ἀναλώσας δὲ κέκραγας, Ctes.* 218. **ἀτιμώσαντες.** If Aeschines failed in obtaining a fifth part of the votes, he would be a state debtor for 1000 drachmae, and to a certain extent *ἄτιμος.* See *Dict. Ant.* p. 169 b.

84 **χρείας**, "services." Whenever *χρεία* has this sense, it is used in the plural number. **ἀγωνοθέτην.** See Smith, *Dict. Ant.* p. 32.

85 **ἃ...ἔφη.** *Ctes.* 227, 231. **ὡς ἑτέρως.** See on ch. 212. **τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν** signifies either "to obtain vengeance," or "to meet with punishment," according to the context. Both senses occur in the dramatic writers.

86 **πάντας ἀνωμολόγημαι**, scil. *τοὺς χρόνους*, supplied in the text by Dissen and others. **προσόδους**=*πομπάς*, "solemn processions," used in the same sense Arist. *Nub.* 307; *Pax*, 396; *Aves*, 854. **τῷ νικᾶν λέγων καὶ γράφων**, "By the fact that I carried the objects of my speeches and propositions." **καταπραχθῆναι**, "were brought to a successful issue." So *κατατυχεῖν*, ch. 178, "to succeed in obtaining," the reverse of *ἀποτυχεῖν*.

87 **διαρραγῶσι**, scil. *οὐ λέγοντες*, or, as Dissen takes it, *rumpantur invidia vel indignatione.* **σίτῳ ἐπεισάκτῳ**. See Boeckh, *Oecon. Ath.* Bk. I. ch. xv. **χάρακα...ἐπολιόρκει**, "having thrown up a rampart against the city, and planted his engines near at hand, he commenced the blockade." Bekker reads *χαράκωμα* instead of *χάρακα*. The siege of Byzantium took place B.C. 340. See Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. VI. ch. 45.

88 **ὅταν λέγω**, better than the ordinary reading, *ὅταν εἴπω*. **ἁπλῶς**, "wholly, *sine ulla tergiversatione.*" Cf. inf. 179.

89 **ἐνστάς**, "that was going on," already set on foot: so *συστάς*, ch. 18, denotes the outbreak. **ἄνευ τοῦ**, "besides that," *praeterquam quod:* in this sense *χωρίς* is more common. **διῆγεν ὑμᾶς**, *fecit ut viveretis.* Dissen. **ἐν πᾶσι, κ.τ.λ.** "*With* all the necessaries of life more abundant and cheaper than the present peace does," viz. that under Alexander. **ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν**=*ταῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίσιν*. **καὶ μετάσχοιεν...προῃρηνται**, "May they rather partake of the blessings which all ye who are sincere patriots beg of the gods, than cause you to share in the results of their own policy." **ἐκ τούτων**, "in consequence of these events." Bremi reads *μηδὲ μετάσχοιεν*.

90 **ἱερομνάμων**, priest of Neptune at Byzantium. Mueller, *Dor.* II. 173. **ἁλίᾳ**, this word is akin to *ἁλίζω*, *ἡλιαία*, &c. See Curtius, *Gk. Etymol.* Vol. II. p. 170, Eng. trans. **ῥήτραν λαβών**=*λόγου τυχών*, "having obtained permission to speak." (Schaef.) Not=*προβούλευμα*, as Mueller thinks. **δενδροκοπέοντος**, "cutting down trees," especially olives and vines. Cf. Thuc. I. 108.

91 **ἐπιγαμίαν**, Lat. *jus connubii.* **μετὰ τὰ ἱερά**, "after the sacred rites" used in every Greek state before public deliberation. Cf. Arist. *Acharn.* 44, and see Mitchell's note, Appendix G, and *Dict. Ant.* pp. 441, 442. **εὐχαριστία**. This is not a pure Greek word, though we have *ἀχαρίστια* below, ch. 316. It is to be observed that even if we suppose all these *ψηφίσματα*, &c. genuine, yet Demosthenes is not responsible for the language, except perhaps in those which he quotes as brought forward by himself.

92 **ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα**, "of sixty talents' weight."

ἀπό is frequently used to denote the material of which a thing is made up. So in Herod. ἀπὸ ξύλου πεποιημένα. Compare the expression ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα, "sixty stadia in length," properly, a distance *made up of* sixty stadia. **τῆς Φιλίππου**, sub. δυνάμεως.

93 **ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία**, "my line of policy," see note on ch. 59.

94 **μεμψάμενοι—ἐκείνοις.** Dobree, *Advers.* I. 48, remarks that μέμφομαι is only used with the dative when a *person* is spoken of, when it has the sense of "being dissatisfied, expostulating with:" with the accusative it simply means "to think ill of, disapprove." For a general rule in explanation of these double cases, see on ἐξίσταμαι, ch. 319.

95 **ἵνα τοίνυν...ἐπιδείξω.** The apodosis to this is below, ἐν ᾗ δύο βούλομαι, κ.τ.λ. **τοῦτο...ἡγοῦμαι**, "For of this I believe you are *already* well assured." Cf. ch. 110 fin. **οὕτως...χρήσασθαι**, "that the turn I gave to the affair was the one it was expedient to give," i.e. the sending assistance to the Byzantines. **πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων**, "By the standard of their most glorious precedents, they should at all times endeavour to regulate their subsequent policy."

96 **ἄλλας νήσους** (more commonly read τὰς ἄλλας νήσους), "and the islands besides." So *Fals. Leg.* 94 (83), χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης αἰσχύνης, "not to mention the additional disgrace." This interpretation of ἄλλος does not however necessitate the presence of the article; for we have in Eur. *Med.* 297, χωρὶς γὰρ ἄλλης ἧς ἔχουσιν ἀσγίας. Either reading, therefore, may stand in the text. Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 473 c, τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξένων. **Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον.** See Thucyd. VII. 19.

97 **ὀρθῶς βουλευόμενοι**, "and a right and noble decision it was." The participle βουλευόμενοι referring to the preceding verb ἤθελον: in Latin *et quidem, et sane,* with the indicative. *Mid.* 517, καλῶς καὶ ξυμφερόντως ἔχων ὁ νόμος, *et bene sane habet haec lex*, v. Buttmann. in loco. **πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ..γενναίως**, "For whereas the goal to which all men alike are brought by life is death, yea though one keep himself barred up in a closet; it behoves the brave to take in hand whatever honourable enterprise may from time to time present itself, arming themselves with the hope of good speed as with a buckler; and to bear with magnanimity whatever fate heaven may award them." Cf. Propert. III. 18. 25, *Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput.* **προβαλλομένους**, *sibi ut clypeum protendentes*, used thus ch. 195 fin. "To shield another" would be προβεβλῆσθαι τίνος.

98 **Δακεδαιμονίους**, governed by *ἀνελεῖν*. **οὐδ' ὑπέρ...διαλογισάμενοι**, "nor even considering *how badly* (*οἷα*) those men had treated you for whom ye were to peril yourselves."

99 **Ὠρωπόν**. See Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. v. ch. 40, p. 174, (131). **τῶν ἐθελοντῶν...πόλει**, "The volunteer-trierarchs on that occasion being the first that appeared in the state." This was the third form of *τριηραρχία* by *συντέλειαι*, which came into force B.C. 357. See Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* p. 1160.

100 **μηδέν...ὑπολογισάμενοι**. After *ἠδίκησθε* the words *ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε* are by some editors admitted into the text. *Nullam injuriarum vobis illatarum pensi habentes in iis rebus, quae vobis creditae essent: sed omnes integras bona fide reddentes.* Schaefer. **ἐλευθερίας**, genit. *causae*, "for."

101 **ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς...οὔσης**. Dissen rightly translates, "*Quum ipsius urbis salus quodammodo in deliberationem veniret.*" **τρόπον τινά**, "in some sort, somehow." Cf. ch. 43, *αὐτοὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ τρόπον τινὰ πολεμούμενοι.*

102 **τούτων**, governed by *ἐξῆς*. **καταλυόμενον**, "going to ruin." **τοὺς πλουσίους...γιγνομένους**, "The rich becoming exempt for a small outlay; the citizens of moderate or small property gradually losing it; and, moreover, the state being, from these causes, too late (with its naval equipments) for the occasions which demanded them." **ἀτελεῖς**, "getting their discharge from the *τριηραρχία*." **ἔθηκα νόμον**, "I proposed a law." *θεῖναι νόμον*, properly applied to a legislator who was *αὐτοκράτωρ*, *θέσθαι νόμον*, to one who proposed laws binding on himself as well as the community, as in a republic. This latter was always limited to its original sense: *θεῖναι νόμον* came to be used irregularly. For an account of this law, consult *Dict. Antiq.* p. 1160.

103 **καὶ γραφείς...ἀπέφυγον**. "And when an indictment was laid against me, I came into court before you to meet the suit I shall presently mention (*τοῦτον*), and was acquitted." **ἀγῶνα** governed by *εἰσῆλθον*, as below, 105, *εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν*. **καίτοι...ὑπωμοσίᾳ**; "And yet how much do you imagine the first class of the Symmoriae, or the second and third (in order of wealth), offered me, to induce me, if possible, not to propose the law at all: if not, at least suffer it to become a dead letter by taking the oath for postponement?" *Συμμορίαι*, see *Dict. Antiq.* pp. 449 and 1160; *ὑπωμοσία*, p. 403 fin.

104 **μικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν**, "little *or* nothing." So 130, *χθὲς καὶ πρώην*. Cf. Soph. *Antig.* 328; *Trachin.* 34. **συνεκκαίδεκα**, "sixteen to one vessel." They were in the habit of letting out their shares in the trierarchy by paying one talent, an abuse to

which Demosthenes' law put a stop. **τὸ γιγνόμενον.** *Rata portio*, the sum fixed by assessment according to their property. Cf. *Timocrat.* 82: *γράψας ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ τιμήματος...τὸ ἀργύριον· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ "τὸ γιγνόμενον"...δ ὤφλεν.* **καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη...συντελής,** "And it became manifest that he who had previously borne but a sixteenth part of the expense of one vessel, might now have to furnish two by himself." **οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτι:** the force of *ἔτι* is "so far had abuses gone under the old system, that they no longer called themselves," &c.

105 **τὸ τριηραρχικόν.** Schaefer takes this to mean "the contributing body;" others with greater probability interpret it "the Trierarchic court;" and Taylor translates it "the Admiralty." Some edd. omit *εἰς τὸ.*

106 **ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν,** "*ex societatibus in Symmoriis.*" (Dissen.) λόχος, "a company," is strictly a military term. **χορηγίᾳ**=λειτουργίᾳ.

αἱρεῖσθαι, "That the trierarchs be chosen." *leguntor.* Dissen. **ἐὰν δέ...χρημάτων,** "But if the assessed property be found to contain money over and above the ten talents." **ὑπηρετικοῦ,** "a tender." **εἰς συντέλειαν...τάλαντα,** "being formed into a contributing body, until they make up the *required sum* of ten talents" (*τὰ δέκα*).

107 **οὐ τοίνυν...δεδωκέναι,** "I pride myself therefore not merely on the fact that I refused to drop these proceedings, nor that I was acquitted when an indictment was laid against me; but because the law I proposed was a beneficial one, and because I gave the test of experience to its operation." **καθυφεῖναι,** "to compromise," applied to an action, *Mid.* p. 526. **ἀποστόλων,** "armaments;" **ἀποστολέων,** "leaders of *ἀποστόλοι*," = Ναυαρχοί. **Μουνυχία,** part of Piraeus, where was a temple of Artemis. **ἐδέθη,** "was thrown into prison." **αὐτοῦ,** "in harbour;" the Piraeus aforesaid.

108 **ἣν ἐν τοῖς πένησιν,** "devolved upon the poor." **πολλὰ ...συνέβαινεν,** "the *cases* of impossibility to meet the demand which occurred were numerous." See above, ch. 38. **πάντ' οὖν,** *οὖν*="in consequence." On this subject compare Arist. *Equit.* 912, where Cleon threatens to ruin the sausage-seller by the trierarchy: *ἐγὼ σὲ ποιήσω τριηραρχεῖν, ἀναλίσκοντα τῶν σαυτοῦ, παλαιὰν ναῦν ἔχοντα, κ.τ.λ.*

109 **ἔχων...φανήσομαι,** "it will be *clearly proved* that I have," which is always the force of *φαίνομαι* with the participle.

110 **λόγους ἀποδοῦναι**=*ἀπολογεῖσθαι.* **τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι**=*ὑμᾶς ὑπάρχειν μοι ξυνειδότας.* See note on ch. 95. **καίτοι ...γε,** nearly always separated by one or more words. See

Porson on *Medea*, 675. *μέντοιγε* need not be so separated. See below, 112; and Lobeck *ad Phryn.* p. 342.

111 **τῶν μὲν οὖν...νόμων**, "Of the arguments then which he promiscuously jumbled together, when speaking of the laws which you see suspended near that of Ctesiphon," (*παραγεγραμμένων*), i. e. the former laws, for violating which Ctesiphon was to be convicted by *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and which were hung up on a tablet (*σανίδιον*) by the side of the defendant's law, for the judges to compare. **διωρίζετο**, "distinctly asserted," ch. 40, sup. **διακεχείρικα**: this verb is peculiarly applied to the administration of the public money. Aesch. *Ctes.* 27.

112 **μισανθρωπίας**, "churlishness, inhumanity." **καὶ τούτους...ἐφιστάναι**, "and to constitute them (scil. the informers) inspectors over the accounts of sums he has voluntarily contributed." **στέρξω**, "I will acquiesce," in which sense *ἀγαπῶ* is also used. See Monk on Eur. *Hippol.* 460.

113 **θεωρικῷ**: see note on 118, below. **ἐπῄνεσεν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα** (*ἡ βουλή*). These words are quoted as Aeschines' own, as also below, *ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιὸς ἦσθα.* **καὶ διά γε...περὶ ἐμοῦ**, "Yes, and for this very reason a vote of thanks was justly passed in my favour, because I freely gave the sums expended, and did not set them down in the public accounts. For accounts, it is true, demand a scrutiny and auditors; but a free gift must, in common justice, meet with gratitude and public thanks. Acting on this principle, Ctesiphon here proposed these honours in my case." **δωρεὰ** always "a gift," never "a bribe."

114 **ἤθεσιν**, "code of morality, moral duties," in opposition to *νόμοι* here, and inf. 275. In Plato it is frequently opposed to *ἔθη.* **ἐστεφάνωται ... ἐστεφανοῦντο ... τετίμηται.** Remark the change of tense. The perfect denotes that Nausicles and Neoptolemus were still living; the imperfect, that Diotimus and Charidemus were dead.

115 **τούτοις**, "in honour of these men." So below, 118, *τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ γραφέν μοι.* **οὐκ εἰσέπραξε**, "did not exact it, charge it to the people."

116 **σκυλευθέντων**, "stripped of their arms."

117 **νὴ Δία...κατηγορεῖς**, "Well, but I abused my power when in office, say you? granting this, how was it that you, though present when the public accountants brought me into court, spoke not a word in accusation?" *νὴ Δία* in Demosthenes generally serves to usher in the adversary's objection in an ironical manner, as here: *νη τὸν Δία* is strongly affirmative.

118 **οἷς γάρ...φανήσεται,** "By the points in the senate's decree which he did not then accuse, by these he will be proved to be calumniating me in the present prosecution;" i.e. because he made no accusation then, he is proved to be making a false one now. **τοῖς θεωρικοῖς,** "in addition to the regular theoric fund collected from all the tribes," sub. *χρήμασι.* Dissen professes himself unable to understand *θεωρικοῖς,* and would read *θεωροῖς* with Schaefer; but *τὰ θεωρικά* as well as *τὸ θεωρικόν* may be applied to the theoric fund. **εἰς θυσίας.** The theoric fund might legitimately be expended in festivals and sacrifices, though not for military purposes, in consequence of the law of Eubulus (see *Dict. Antiq.* p. 1126). This law of Eubulus Demosthenes found to stand greatly in the way of his plans for the national defence; but he did not succeed in getting it repealed till B.C. 339, shortly before the battle of Chaeronea.

120 **σκαιός,** properly "left-handed," and hence "clumsy," metaphorically "foolish," opp. to **δεξιός,** "clever." It answers exactly to the French word *gauche.* Cf. Virg. *Ecl. si mens non laeva fuisset,* and Hor. *Ars. Poet. O ego laevus, qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam.* **στεφανοῖ,** subjunctive mood.

121 **ἀναγορευέτω.** Subaud. *ὁ κήρυξ.* **τί σαυτόν...ἐπὶ τούτοις;** "why do you not dose yourself with hellebore after such conduct?" i.e. to bring your senses back to you. **φθόνου δίκην.** Cf. ch. 13. **νόμους μεταποιῶν.** The full construction of this elliptical clause would be *καὶ νόμους τοὺς μὲν μεταποιῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀφαιρῶν μέρη.*

122 **ἔπειτα...κομιζόμενος,** "Next, though your own conduct is such as I have described, you make a list of the proper qualifications for a popular leader; just as one who has ordered a statue to be made according to a contract, and on delivery finds it deficient in the specified qualities." See Aesch. *Ctes.* 168. **ἢ λόγῳ,** understand *ὥσπερ* before λόγῳ. **τοὺς δημοτικοὺς—γιγνωσκομένους,** acc. absolute. **συγγραφή,** see Boeckh *de Oec. Ath.* I. ch. 22. **ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα,** *fanda nefanda, quicquid in buccam venerit.* Cf. *Midias,* p. 540; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1001, &c. *ὥσπερ ἐξ ἁμάξης,* scil. *αἱ γυναῖκες.* Bentley, in the *Phalaris,* particularly warns us not to apply this expression to the ancient Players' cart of Thespis, but to the carts used in the festivals of Bacchus and Eleusis, in which the women were conveyed, and from whence they were wont to abuse one another. Arist. *Plut.* 1013 *μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην Ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης.* "Upon which passage of Aristoph.," says Bentley, "the old scholiast and Suidas have this note: 'In those carts the women made abusive jests upon one another, especially at a bridge over the Cephissus, where the procession used to stop a little: from whence to abuse was called γεφυ-

ρίζειν.'" But besides the Eleusinian there was the same custom in many other festival pomps; whence it was that *πομπεύειν* and *πομπεία* came at last to signify scoffing and railing."—*Greek Theatre*, p. 231.

123 **καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο**, understand *σκοπεῖτε*: cf. *Fals. Leg.* 314 (360) *καὶ γὰρ αὖ τοῦτο.* **ἔχειν**, "implies." **κακῶς**, another reading is *κακῶν*, "from our private quarrels."

124 **ἐνταῦθα**, "in this point," viz. abuse. **ὑπὲρ τούτων**, "in the service of these Athenians."

125 **τῇ προθεσμίᾳ.** The *νόμος προθεσμίας* answers to our "Statute of Limitations." It limited the term for bringing civil actions to five years after the alleged offence was committed. But in cases of *γραφὴ παρανόμων* one year only was allowed. **ὅρα μή...προσποιῇ**, "beware lest you be found in reality the enemy of these Athenians, while you pretend to be mine alone."

126—160 The public and private life of Aeschines.

126 **αὐτά**, "facts," as opp. to *πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν.* **τίς ὤν...διασύρει** "who and of what family he is, that so glibly sets the example of foul language, and what sort of expressions he criticises." **ῥᾳδίως**, *temerè*, "unscrupulously," in a bad sense; as ch. 70, *ὦ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὅτι ἂν βουληθῇς.*—**φθέγξασθαι**;—*Post haec quae expectatur apodosis, omissa est. Ac notat Hermogenes ira et indignatione ablatum oratorem ἀνανταπόδοτον admisisse.* Dissen. See his note.

127 **σπερμολόγος**, "a babbler," prop. one who picks up scandal as a bird does grain. **περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς**=*ἀγοραῖος*, "this hack of the market-place," i.e. versed in all its tricks. Cf. Arist. *Nub.* 447, *περίτριμμα δικῶν*: Soph. *Ajax*, *ἦ τοὐπίτριπτον κίναδος* (tricksy fox) *ἐξήρου μ' ὅπου*; **ὄλεθρος γραμματεύς**, "a pestilent assembly-clerk." *ὄλεθρος*=*ὀλέθριος.* *γραμματεύς*, see *Fals. Leg.* 109, 360 (98, 314). **ξύνεσιν...ἐπικαλούμενον**, "appealing to intelligence and education." See Aesch. *Ctes.* fin.

128 **κάθαρμα**=**φαρμακός**, "a scape-goat." Ld. Brougham's word for it, "you abomination," is not amiss, though his reviewer, as usual, objects; for "abominor" is strictly "to abhor as ill-omened or accursed." Cf. Mitchell on the word *δημοσίους*, Arist. *Equit.* 1099. **τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι...περίεστιν**, "but to those who fail in obtaining it, like you, yet pretend to it out of sheer stupidity, the result is that they vex their hearers when they speak, but do not get the credit of really being what they set up for." *ἀπολειφθεῖσι*, literally, "who are left behind by it." *ἀναισθησία*, see on ch. 35.

129 **γράμματα**, see on ch. 265. **χοίνικας**, "shackles for the legs." Arist. *Plut.* 276, *αἱ κνημαὶ δὲ σοὶ βοῶσιν Ἰοὺ ἰοὺ· τὰς χοίνικας καὶ τὰς πέδας ποθοῦσαι.* **ξύλον**, "a wooden collar," *furca.* Arist. *Nub.* 592, *εἶτα φιμώσητε τούτου τῷ ξύλῳ τὸν αὐχένα.* Cf. *Equit.* 367, 394. These *χοίνικες* and *ξύλον* were combined in the *πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον* mentioned *Equit.* 1049, which was a kind of stocks furnished with five holes, to admit the head, arms, and legs. **ἡ μήτηρ...ἐξέθρεψε**, "or that your mother, by prostituting herself in the daytime at the brothel near the shop of Heros, surnamed Calamites, managed to rear you, the beautiful statue and topping player of third-rate parts that you are!" *μεθημερινός=diurnus, καθημερινός, quotidianus.* Read *τῷ* Καλαμίτῃ Ἥρωι with Schaef., and comp. *Fals. Leg.* 279, (249) *ἡ μήτηρ...καρπουμένη τὰς τῶν χρωμένων οἰκίας ἐξέθρεψε τοσούτους τουτουσί...διδάσκων δ' ὁ πατὴρ γράμματα πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἥρω τοῦ ἰατροῦ.* The name Καλαμίτης probably came from some surgical use of the *κάλαμος*—v. *καλάμισκος*, Arist. *Acharn.* 1034.

130 **οὐδὲ γάρ...καταρᾶται**, "for he was not born merely of ordinary parents, but of such as the community execrates;" though Dissen refers *ὧν ἔτυχεν* to the *actions* of Aeschines. *ὀψέ=sero*, not *recens*; "late in life." **Γλαυκοθέαν**: her real name was Glaucis. **Ἔμπουσαν.** Cf. Arist. *Ran.* 293, to which passage Demosthenes probably alludes. **πάντα ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν**, *quidvis et facere et pati.* Hor.

131 **οὐχ ὅπως...ἔχεις**, "you are so far from being grateful." *οὐχ ὅπως* for *οὐκ ἐρῶ ὅπως=non modo* in Latin: but this last can only be used in negative statements, as when followed by *ne quidem.*

132 **ἀποψηφισθείς**, "rejected from the civic register," which was made up by *διαψήφισις, recensio*, such as revising-barristers take in England.

133 **καὶ εἰ μή...**fin. "Had not the senate of the Areopagus, hearing of the transaction and marking your mistimed culpable carelessness, made further search for the fellow, apprehended him, and brought him up again for trial before you; this wretch would have been snatched out of your hands, shirked the penalty due to his crimes, and left the country by the help of this fine-spoken gentleman here: but as it was, you ordered him for torture and execution, as you *ought* to have done to Aeschines too."

134 **κἀκείνην**, scil. *τὴν Ἄρειον πάγον.* Transl. "inasmuch as you had deputed this court to act for you and made it supreme over the matter." **σύνδικος**, properly defendant's counsel, and *συνήγορος* plaintiff's. But the two words came to

be used indiscriminately for any advocate. There is no other instance of this meaning of *προαιρεῖσθαι*. As however it is the technical word for the Areopagus undertaking any matter of its own accord it is conjectured that we should read *ὡς προείλετο* (sc. *ἡ βουλὴ*) *κἀκείνην ὑμεῖς τοῦ πράγματος, κ. ἐ.*

135 **συνεδρεύσαντες**, "having formed a *συνέδριον* or assembly." The Areopagus was frequently called *συνέδριον* (Boeckh, *Oec. Ath.* Bk. III. ch. 17). **τούτου μέλλοντος** sc. to go as *σύνδικος*.

136 **νεανίου**. Aeschines was forty-five years old at the time spoken of, for Antiphon was executed B.C. 344. *νεανίου* must therefore mean "this rash, headstrong man." Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 580; Plat. *Gorg.* 508 D; Arist. *Vesp.* 1307. **πολλῷ ῥέοντι**, "*multo fluenti.*" Compare *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*, Thucyd. IV. 22. Eur. *Hippol.* *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητόν, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ.* Hor. *Od.* IV. 2, 7; *Sat.* I. 7, 28.

137 **συνιών**, "having gone by appointment to meet." See Aesch. *Ctes.* 223 sqq. **μόνος μόνῳ**...**ἐκοινολογεῖτο**, "had a *tête-à-tête* interview and conversation." **ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει**, "was already by his original nature."

138 **ὑποσκελίζειν**, "to trip up, supplant." He reproaches the Athenians with the same evil tendency, ch. 3. *τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως.*

139 **δότε**, "*condonate*," "concede him this." **Χερρόνησος**. See above, cc. 92, 93. *ἐνεστήκει*. See note on *ἐνστάς*, ch. 89. *ἰαμβειοφάγος* either = *φιλολοίδορος*, (cf. *criminosis Iambis*, Hor.), or more probably "a spouter, mouther of Iambic verses," cf. ch. 267. This last is Schaefer's interpretation. **οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον**, we use the positive degree in English, "great or small." **ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι**, literally "whilst my water-clock (or clepsydra) is going:" hence "in the time allotted for my speech." See *Fals. Leg.* 64 (57), and *Dict. Antiq.* p. 615. **δυοῖν ἀνάγκη θάτερον**, "he must have recourse to one of two alternatives" = he is on the horns of a dilemma. Accusative in apposition to the following sentence. Madvig, Gr. Synt. 19. 3.

140 **Ἆρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν**...**ἑτέρῳ**, "Pray did he consequently refrain from speaking (as he refrained from proposing anything) when the time came to work some mischief? Nay, we might rather say, no one else *could* speak because of him." *ἆρ' οὖν, num igitur*, expects the answer "no." *μὲν οὖν* = *immo vero*, common in the dramatic writers. Cf. 130, *χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῴην*. **ἐπέθηκε τέλος**, "put the finishing stroke upon," brought to a climax. **τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων δόγματα**, "the decrees *concerning* the Amphissaeans." Thucyd. I. 140, *τὸ τῶν Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα.* **ὡς διαστρέψων**, "under the idea that he will

distort." **τὸ δὲ οὐ...ἐρεῖς**, "whereas the fact is not as he thinks it will be: how should it? you will never succeed in washing yourself clean of what you there did: you will not say so much as to manage *that*." *ἐκνίψῃ*, as we say, "to wash one's *hands* of a thing," the proper signification of *νίπτω*. Compare the sense of the Lat. *purgo*, "to excuse oneself."

141 πατρῷος, "Gentile god," because he was the father of Ion. **ἀνόνητον**, "deriving no benefit from," the ordinary sense of the word is "useless," as in Soph. *Ajax*, 758, *τὰ γὰρ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα* (where Wunder reads *κἀνόητα*). Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 766.

142 μή...ἐλάττων, "lest he should be considered as too poor a creature to have done the mischief that he *has* done." He gives them a similar caution in *Fals. Leg.* 32 (29): *δεῖ δὲ μηδένα ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος ἀποβλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι.*

143 πόλεμον εἰσάγεις, πόλεμον. The word *πόλεμον* being placed first in the sentence and repeated, expresses the anxiety uppermost in the speaker's mind. Compare Virg. *Aen.* ix. 427, where Nisus is rushing forward to save Euryalus, he exclaims, *Me, me, adsum qui feci: in me convertite ferrum.* **οἱ ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι**, "his packed audience," Lat. *fautores* or *advocati*. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* init., *αἱ τῶν παρακλήτων σπουδαὶ καὶ δεήσεις.* They were summoned by *παραγγελία* of the person who wanted their aid: they came altogether to the ecclesia early, and sat down in a body (*συγκαθήμενοι*). Dicaeopolis (Arist. *Acharn.* init.) says he comes prepared *βοᾶν, ὑποκρούειν, λοιδορεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας*, which will give us a notion of the proceedings of these *παράκλητοι*.

144 καὶ τίνος...ἐπράχθη, "for whose sake this affair was got up (properly, *packed* together as goods), and how it was carried into execution."

146 μήτε Θετταλῶν...διιέντων, "in case the Thessalians did not join him, and the Thebans refused him a passage through Boeotia."

147 εἰ μέν...τὸν νοῦν, "if then he attempted to persuade—he thought no one was likely to listen to him." For the use of the future with *ἄν*, comp. *Fals. Leg.* 394 (342), *τοὺς ὁτιοῦν ἂν ἐκείνῳ ποιήσοντας*, and *Leptin.* 35, *οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος βλάψειν*: it is, however, a rare construction. *προσέχειν* is sometimes read in this passage, and Dissen omits *ἄν*. **τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι**, "*for* the Amphictyons." **τὴν Πυλαίαν παραχήν**, "about the disturbance at the Pylaea," or Amphictyonic synod. This word is also used in Demosthenes for the right of sending delegates

to the Amphictyonic council. It is derived from Πυλαί, because the session was held in the neighbourhood of Thermopylae, as also at Delphi. At Athens three Pylagorae were annually elected to act as representatives together with one Hieromnemon, appointed by lot. See *Dict. Antiq.* pp. 80, 81; and for an account of this war, Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. VI.

149 **ἀνερρήθη**, "was proclaimed," hence "elected." This verb (*ἀναρρέω*) is only used in the aor. 1 and fut. pass. Cf. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 147. **λόγους...συνθείς**, "by stringing together specious words and myths about how it came to pass that the Cirrhaean territory was consecrated," scil. to Apollo. This was in the *First* Sacred War, B.C. 586. **συνθείς**, cf. Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* 686. Ar. *Ran.* 1052.

150 **περιελθεῖν...εἶναι**, "to take a survey of the land which the Amphissaeans declared they were in the habit of farming because it was their own, but which Aeschines complained was part of the sacred territory." Aesch. *in Ctes.* 107—112. **οὐδεμίαν δίκην**. The ground of quarrel which Aeschines mentions (*Ctes.* 116 sqq.). **ἄνευ τοῦ προσκαλέσασθαι**, "without having *summoned* you." **ἐκλήτευσεν** "cited in presence of witnesses;" *κλήτορες*, see ch. 55. **ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς**, "dating from whose Archonship," though *ἐπί* is the commoner reading, "in whose Archonship."

151 **μικροῦ**, "*within* a little," = *μικροῦ* or *ὀλίγου δεῖν* or *παρὰ μικρόν*. The word qualifies *κατηκόντισαν*, not **ἅπαντας**. **ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ἐταράχθη**, "when once, in consequence of these events, definite charges and war were stirred up against the Amphissaeans:" *ὡς ἅπαξ*=*postquam semel*. **οὐδὲν ἐποίουν**, "were doing no *good*," gaining no advantage. *ἤγον*, sub. *τὰ πράγματα*.

152 **εἰσφέραν**, "to pay a war-tax," which was upon property (*οὐσία*). **ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλά**, "bidding a long farewell to the Cirrhaeans," i.e. having nothing more to do with them. Cf. *Mid.* 39. *Fals. Leg.* 278 (248), *ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ*. Cic. *ad Div.* VII. 33. 2, *Ego vero multam salutem et foro dico et curiae.*

153 **νῦν δέ...ἐκεῖνοι**, "but as it was, they held him in check, at least so far as to prevent any sudden operations." **τό γ' ἐξαίφνης**, "at least for the instant." **εἶτα**=*μετὰ τοὺς θεούς*.

154 **τοῦ λοιποῦ**, "on any future occasion." This phrase is always used in negative sentences, and contains the idea of "iteration." *τὸ λοιπόν* in affirmative propositions, with the idea of "duration," signifies "*during* all future time."

155 **καταναιρούμενοι**, "having divided amongst themselves." **ἐαρινῆς Πυλαίας**. The decree was really in the autumn

(*τῇ μετοπωρινῇ Πυλαίᾳ*, ch. 151) which finally constituted Philip Amphictyonic commander.

156 **πρόφασιν.** The twofold signification of this word is worth bearing in mind, and is well illustrated in this chapter. It first means "the real reason" (*τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν*), we may say in a good sense, and immediately afterwards "the false reasons" or pretexts, *τὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ προφάσεις.* See Shilleto on Thuc. I. 23. 7.

157 **εὐσεβῶν,** "held sacred, reverenced." This passive sense of *εὐσεβής*, applied to a thing, is unusual. We have *εὐσεβὴς ψῆφος* above, but that means rather "a religious vote," a vote consistent with religion and the oaths taken. In Eur. *Elect.* 1272, we find *εὐσεβὲς χρηστήριον*, in the pass. sense. **ἐνεστῶτος,** as we say, "on the first *instant.*" The words **τοῖς δὲ συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις** are unintelligible as they stand, and it seems best to expunge them with Schaefer. The sense will then be, "those who refuse to attend the rendezvous with all their available forces, we shall treat as liable to the penalties of war," *i.e.* *ὡς πολεμίοις.* This threat is of course levelled against the Thebans. J. H. Lipsius (ed. 1876) reads *τοῖς ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις*, making *ἐπιζημίοις* a substantive = "with the penalties."

158 **μὴ λέγετε περιιόντες,** "do not *go about* and say." Cf. *Fals. Leg.* 209 (189), *ταῦτα γὰρ τραγῳδεῖ περιιών.* Philipp. I. 10. **ὑφ' ἑνός,** scil. Philip.

159 **οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι...εἰπεῖν,** "I should not hesitate to load with the accumulated guilt of all the subsequent ruin." **ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ ἀληθείας:** Dissen thinks these words were spoken aside, but Demosthenes was not over-scrupulous about taxing the Athenians with such carelessness. See ch. 133, *τὴν ὑμετέραν ἄγνοιαν, κ.τ.λ.* **ἀπεστράφητε,** "felt an instinctive abhorrence of, or aversion to."

160—252 Statement and justification of Demosthenes' own policy.

160 **τὰ ἔργα τῶν πόνων,** as Thucyd. I. 22, *τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων: τοὺς πόνους* would have been sufficient to express the sense, but *τὰ ἔργα* is put in to give a more pointed antithesis to *τοὺς λόγους.*

161 **παρ' ἑκατέροις,** "in each of the two states," Athens and Thebes. **παρατηρῶν διετέλουν,** "I was still watching (as it were, keeping guard *by the side* of the events) as I had been all along." See on ch. 57.

162 **Ἀριστοφῶν,** see on ch. 75. Aeschines (*Ctes.* 139) says of him, *πλεῖστον χρόνον τὴν τοῦ Βοιωτιάζειν ὑπομείνας αἰτίαν.*

This is Aristophon the Azenian, *civis nobilissimus*, who doubtless disagreed with Eubulus on many points (ἀντιλέγοντας), for the latter was a mere demagogue, as his law περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν proves: see on ch. 118.

163 **καὶ εἰ μή...ἡδυνήθημεν**, "had we not arisen from our apathy a short time before, we should not have been able to recover ourselves." **προεξανέστημεν μικρόν**=ἐξανέστημεν μικρὸν πρὸ τούτου. **ἀναλαβεῖν** (αὐτοὺς Dissen reads), "to recover one's strength after a shock." **οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω**, *usque adeo*, for μέχρι οὕτω πόρρω. **συνέκρουον**, see on ch. 19.

164 **πορθεῖ**, *oppugnat*, Schaefer, who compares Diod. Sic. xv. 4, πολιορκίαν ξυνεστήσαντο πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. **μάλιστα μέν**, "if possible—first and foremost." **εἰ δὲ μή**, "failing in that." **τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι**, "to protract *the* armistice." **τάς**, "already existing." **ἀνοχή**, a *suspension* of hostilities. Attic form ἀνακωχή, or more correctly ἀνοκωχή, R' οχ-, so ἐπ-οχ-ή, a halting-point in history.

165 **ἐνδεχομένως**, "accordingly," "as well as the circumstances admit of." **καὶ γὰρ νῦν...μετρίων**, "for as matters now stand, it hath decided not to march out to battle, in case of obtaining any tolerable terms" (from Philip). **βοηθεῖν**, as Thucyd. I. 107, ἐβοήθησαν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί, in the simple sense of hastening to the fight; the primary meaning of the word.

166 **ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς**, a military term, "wheeling round." **παραπέμψαντες**. Hesych. ἀπωθοῦντες, *cum contemptu transmittentes*. Dissen.

167 **πᾶσαν προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν**, "affect to offer you their most zealous service." **ῥοπήν**=*momentum*, "a thing which I expect will be of no slight moment to you."

168 **ὡς οὐδ' ἄν...Θηβαίων**, "with the impression that it was impossible under any circumstances that we should still be found acting in concert with the Thebans." **εἴ τι γένοιτο** answers nearly to the Lat. *quicquid accidisset*, and implies, "if aught *untoward* should have occurred," comp. ch. 219, fin. συμπνευσόντων ἄν was rightly changed by Schaefer into συμπνευσάντων, against Bekker and Dindorf; for though the fut. partic. with ἄν is admissible (see on ch. 147), yet the future of πνέω is always πνεύσομαι, not πνεύσω.

169 This fine passage was highly admired by the ancients, see Longinus, ch. 10. Elatea was distant 78 English miles from Athens. **κατείληπται**, the perfect, because they are given as the messenger's own words, cf. Goodwin, *Moods and*

Tenses, p. 150. **μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες**, "before they finished their evening meal," which is a proof that they took certain meals in the prytaneum. **γέφρα**, booths of wicker-work, and therefore easily demolished. This fire Schaef. supposes to have been lighted for the purpose of *φρυκτωρία*, to summon the demes to Athens. **στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο**, scil. that they might convene a *σύγκλητος ἐκκλησία*, which was done by sound of trumpet; hence *τὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐκάλουν*. **καὶ πρίν...ἄνω καθῆτο**, "and before it (the *βουλή*) had proposed any subject (to the *ἐκκλησία*) for discussion, or given the preliminary vote for any measure, the whole people was seated in the Pnyx," *ἄνω*, comp. the common phrase *ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*. The Scholiast to Aeschin. *Timarch.* 81, says *ἦν δὲ πάγος ὑψηλὸς, λόφος καλούμενος Πνύξ*. The actual site of the Pnyx is now a matter of conjecture, considerable doubt having been thrown on the account given in Smith's Dictionaries.

170 **τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται**; This official summons was as it were the shibboleth of happy democracy. Aeschines gives it more fully (*Ctes.* 4, *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων, καὶ πάλιν ἐν μέρει τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων*). See Arist. *Acharn.* 45.

171 **ἔδει**, "it was intended," scil. by the herald's summons. **ὑμεῖς**, "you, who are present here." **οἱ τριακόσιοι**, the *ἡγέμονες τῶν ξυμμορῶν*, according to the division of Nausinicus, B.C. 377. *Dict. Ant.* 449.

172 **παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασι**, "who had watched the course of the events," literally "followed alongside of them." See *παρατηρῶν διετέλουν*, ch. 161; *Fals. Leg.* 291 (257); *Timocr.* p. 703. **πόρρωθεν**, "for a long time past." Brem. reads *ἐπιμελῶς* with Bekker, &c., after *πόρρωθεν*, **ἤμελλεν**, "was likely."

173 **ἐφάνην τοίνυν οὗτος ἐγώ**, "well then, such a one (sc. *ὃν ὁ καιρὸς ἐκάλει*) appeared in *me;*" *οὗτος* predicate, *ἐγὼ* emphatic. **τὰ δέοντα**, governed by *λέγων καὶ γράφων*. **ἐξηταζόμην**, "I was found," prop. after examination: cf. *ἐξήτασαι*, ch. 197. **πρὸς τὰ λοιπά...ἐμπειρότεροι**, "you will be better prepared to understand the remaining circumstances of our entire policy." **τῆς πάσης**, yours and mine, cf. 192, 206, 207, 208, 222, 229.

174 **ὡς ὑπαρχόντων...Φιλίππῳ** "as if Philip already had the Thebans on his side."

175 **εὐτρέπισται**, *sibi conciliavit.* Diss. **ἀνθεστηκότας... ἐναντιουμένους**, "who from the first withstood his projects, and are now his avowed enemies." **παραστήσας τὰ ὅπλα**, "when he

has stationed his troops close at hand." Cf. ch. 87, *μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας.*

176 **προσδεξαμένων**, "having received him in addition" to those who were before inclined to do so.

177 **μεταθέσθαι.** Not *τὸν φόβον*, but as Schaefer says, *absolute positum*, "to turn our attention to other objects." **πολὺ ἐγγυτέρω.** Elatea, however, was 43 miles distant from Thebes. **ἐξ ἴσου**, sc. *τοῖς Φιλιππίζουσι*, "may be on equal terms with the friends of Philip as regards freedom of speech concerning their rights." *τὰ δίκαια h. l. sunt libertas, ea conditio, qua quis sui iuris est nec alius voluntati subiectus*, Bremi. **ἐάν τις...ἴῃ**, "provided *he* comes against them." The indefinite *τις* is frequently used for the definite pronouns *ἐγώ, σύ, ἐκεῖνος*, &c. Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1138, *τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοῦπος ἔρχεται τινί.* Ar. *Plut.* 438, *Ποῖ τις φύγῃ;*

178 **καὶ ποιῆσαι,...ἐξόδου**, "to give them full authority to decide, along with the Strategi; both when they (the ambassadors) should proceed to Philip's head-quarters, and when the expedition should leave Attica." **χρήσασθαι**, see on ch. 95. **μὴ δεῖσθαι...καιρός**, "to require nothing of the Thebans, for that would be shameful at the present crisis." **προσχήματος** = *προφάσεως*, "a pretext," scil. of acting disinterestedly, here in a good sense, cf. Dem. *de Pace* 6. **κατατυχεῖν**, see on *καταπραχθῆναι*, ch. 86.

179 **οὐκ εἶπον...ἔγραψα δέ.** Translate this instance of the figure "Climax" thus: "I did not propose these measures, *and then* not draw up the formal resolution of them," &c. Dissen gives many references to illustrate this figure. **ἁπλῶς**, cf. supr. 88.

180 **Βάτταλος** or *Βάταλος.* The origin and meaning of this nickname was obscure to the ancient writers. Plutarch (*Dem.* 4) says the name was given Demosthenes when young, by other boys, on account of his feeble physique. Aeschines evidently considered it equivalent to *μαλακός*, "effeminate." *c. Timarch.* 131, *οὐ κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φήμης ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τίτθης Βάταλος προσαγορεύεται ἐξ ἀνανδρίας τινὸς καὶ κιναιδίας ἐνεγκάμενος τοὔνομα.* As this passage seems to imply that Demosthenes himself asserted that the name had been given him by his nurse, Westermann conjectures that it means "Stammerer," being connected with *βάττος, βατταρίζω.* **Κρεσφόντην**, a Heraclid, king of Messenia, who was slain by Polyphontes. The principal character in this play was Merope, wife of Cresphontes, who at his death was compelled to marry the murderer. Aeschines could only have come forward as the shade of Cresphontes (as Polydorus in the Hecuba), for

the plot turns upon events which happened after the murder. **Κρέοντα.** In the *Antigone* of Sophocles. **Οἰνόμαον.** A lost play of Sophocles. Oenomaus was king of Pisa, and father of Hippodamia. We observe that Aeschines being *τριταγωνιστὴς* had to take these heavy parts of the kings in all the plays. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* 275 (247): *ἐξαίρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους εἰσιέναι*, "it is a kind of privilege of Tritagonistae to come on the stage as the kings." **ἐπέτριψας,** "you spoilt, murdered." Cf. *ἐλυμαίνου*, ch. 267; Arist. *Acharn.* 1022, (Δικαιοπ.) *τί δ' ἔπαθες*; (Γεωργ.) *ἐπετρίβην (interii) ἀπολέσας τὼ βόε*, and the common sense of *ἐπιτριβείης* "*pereas.*"

181 Aeschines sneers at the length of a similar *Ψήφισμα*, *Ctes.* 100, calling it *μακρότερον τῆς Ἰλιάδος*.

182 **κατακόρως.** (1) *ad satietatem:* (2) *ultra modum*, as here.

183 **ἰδίας.** Schaefer is probably right in supposing this word to mean "belonging to itself alone,"=*ἑαυτοῦ*. **ὑπελάμβανεν...πλημμελεῖσθαι,** "the Athenian people conceived that injuries done against itself individually were of no such vital consequence."

185 **ἀλλοφύλου.** The Macedonians derived their origin from some Pelasgians and Illyrians who had formerly settled in Emathia. Their royal family claimed descent from the Temenidae, who were Heraclid kings of Argos. Philip, therefore, was not strictly speaking *ἀλλόφυλος*, nor the Macedonians *βάρβαροι*.

186 **Ἡρακλέους παῖδας,** expelled from the Peloponnese by Eurystheus.

188 **αὕτη...κατάστασις πρώτη,** "such was the commencement and first establishment of our friendly relations with Thebes." "Ubi notabis *v. κατάστασις*, quae propria de constitutione rerum antea turbatarum." Dissen.

189 **καὶ δίδωσιν...τῷ βουλομένῳ,** "and renders himself responsible to those who have been persuaded by his advice, to Fortune, to occasional emergencies, to anyone who chooses (to inquire into his conduct)." Dalzel. Chiasmus. *οἱ πεισθέντες* and *ὁ βουλόμενος* are not necessarily identical: the latter may never have been persuaded. And the public adviser is ready to give an account to Fortune and opportunities for the way in which he has used them. **σιγήσας.** The following may be taken as a rule: Verbs which have their 1st future in the middle form alone, as *σιγήσομαι, ἀκούσομαι*, &c., never have their aorist likewise middle, but active, *ἤκουσα*. But *deponent*

verbs, as *δεόμαι*, make the future *δεήσομαι*, and aorist *ἐδεήθην*. **δύσκολον**, a word more properly applied to character: we may translate it "anything cross."

190 **φροντίζοντος**=*φροντίδα ἔχοντος*, see ch. 292. **ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι**, "I go so far as to confess," an elliptical phrase, literally, "I exceed" what may reasonably be expected of me. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* ch. 382. (332.)

191 **ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐ τότε**, understand *ἔδειξας*. **πρᾶξις**, "negotiation."

192 **συμβούλου...ἀπαιτεῖ**, "requires that the public adviser should be at his post." **ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις...δηλοῖ**, "but his principles alone shew the disposition of the adviser." **αὐτή** =*καθ' ἑαυτάς*, "by themselves," as frequently. **συμβούλου**, we may perhaps translate this "statesman," considering what the position and duties of a *σύμβουλος* were at Athens.

193 **ἐνεστησάμην**, "I set on foot," as *ὁ ἐνστὰς τότε πόλεμος* above. **πράγματα**, "foreign relations," as in ch. 188. **τότ' ἤδη**, *tum demum*, "then, if you can."

194 **σκῆπτος**, "hurricane," from *σκήπτω*, which properly means "to lean or press hard upon." So the word is frequently applied to lightning, from the idea of its dashing violently down. **σκῆψις**, "a pretext," literally what one leans or depends on. **μείζων**, "too great for." This sense of comparatives is commoner with *μείζων* and *ἐλάττων* than any other words. Cf. sup. ch. 142. **ναύκληρον**, "a shipowner," who at that time generally commanded his own vessel. **κατασκευάσαντα**, "furnished with rigging, tackle." **πονησάντων...ὅλως**, "strained or utterly broken to pieces."

195 Join **οὕτως πρᾶξαι**=*eadem agere*, "to fare thus." **πάσας ἀφῆκε φώνας**, "exerted all the power of his lungs." Cf. Eurip. *Hecub.* 341; *σπούδαζε πάσας φθογγὰς ἱεῖσα.* Arist. *Equit.* 504: *πάσας ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἱείς.* Schaefer here translates, "nil sibi indictum reliquit." **που τῆς χώρας**=*ἐν μέρει τινι τῆς χώρας.* Cf. *ubi gentium, ubinam locorum*, &c. in Latin. **στῆναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι**, "to regain her footing, to meet in assembly, to recover breath." **τότε δέ...κατηγορεῖς**, "under the other supposition—but it is not worth my while to mention a contingency which was never even realized, owing to the kindness of some divinity, and to the fact that the state had shielded herself by this alliance, which you impugn." Read *εὐνοίᾳ...τῷ*, as here. *ἃ*, nom. case to *ἔδωκε*. *πεῖραν* sc. *ἑαυτῶν*. **τότε δέ**, "in the other case," opposed to *νῦν μέν* above, "as it is," see in ch. 200.

196 **περιεστηκότας**, see on ch. 1 init. and Aesch. *Ctes.* 56. **προλέγειν**, "to speak before" the event.

197 **τῇ πόλει**, take with *δυσμενέστατος*. **ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσιν**, "upon the event" almost = "by the event," *ἐπί* combining the ideas of occasion and cause. So infr. 284. (Funkhaenel, quoted by Westermann.)

198 **ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο**, understand *ὥστε ἐν αὐτοῖς* before *ἐνευδοκιμεῖν*, "were treasured up for him to get honour thereby." Compare *ἐνδυστυχῆσαι* in Eurip. *Phoeniss.* &c. **ἀποκεῖμαι**, a peculiar word expressing "to be laid by or stored away in reserve." Cf. Dem. *in Conon.* 21, *τούτοις ἀποκεῖσθαι προσήκει τὰς τοιαύτας καταφυγάς*. **πράττεται**...**Αἰσχίνης**. Dissen illustrates this antistrophe from Cic. *Philipp.* II. 22, *Doletis tres exercitus populi Romani interfectos: interfecit Antonius. Desideratis clarissimos cives: eos quoque eripuit vobis Antonius. Auctoritas hujus ordinis afflicta est: afflixit Antonius.* **ῥήγματα καὶ σπάσματα**, "fractures and sprains." Cf. *Olynth.* II. 21, where we find the metaphor more fully carried out. **κινεῖται**, "begin to stir."

199 **πολὺς ἔγκειται**, "since he lays great stress upon;" see on ch. 136. **τὴν ὑπερβολήν μου θαυμάσῃ** = *θαυμάσῃ ἐμὲ ὡς ὑπερβολὴν ποιούμενον*, "as going too far;" see on ch. 190. **βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς**, "keeping up a continued outcry."

200 **ἀποτυχεῖν**, see on ch. 86 and 178. **ἀκονιτί**, "without a struggle," a word taken from the wrestlers in the Palaestra. **μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεώς γε**, sc. *εἴπω*, "for far be it from me to say they would have regarded the state with abhorrence," &c.

201 **τίσι ὀφθαλμοῖς**, "with what face," as *ὄμμασιν* is used *Oed. Tyr.* 1371. **περιέστη**, see on ch. 80. **ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν**, "others, and not we."

202 **Περσῶν βασιλεύς**. Xerxes, who after his departure from Greece sent, first Alexander the son of Amyntas, through Mardonius, to make large offers to the Athenians, and afterwards another such messenger to Salamis. Herod. VIII. 136—144; IX. 1—5.

203 **πάτρια, ἀνεκτά, ἔμφυτα.** On these words Dissen says, "sic intelligo, ut putem tertio rediri ad primum:" with this we may compare ch. 195, *στῆναι, συνελθεῖν, ἀναπνεῦσαι*. Join *κινδυνεύουσα διατετέλεκεν*.

204 **Κυρσίλον.** This story is related by Herodotus, IX. 5; but he calls the traitor Lycidas, not Cyrsilus. Cic. (*de Offic.* III. 11) follows Demosthenes in the name: *Athenienses quum sta-*

tuerent ut urbe relicta naves conscenderent, Cyrsilum quendam suadentem ut in urbe manerent, Xerxemque reciperent, lapidibus cooperuerunt.

205 **ἠξίουν...ἔξεσται.** The latter clause is put as it were into the mouths of the persons whose thoughts are given, therefore we find the indicat. *ἔξεσται.* In Latin this would not be admissible; it must be *nisi liceret.* *τῆς εἱμαρμένης καὶ αὐτόματον θάνατον.* Cf. Herod. II. 66: *ἐν ὀτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισιν αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρύας.* Tacit. *Annal.* VI. 10, "fato *obire,*" "by a natural death," and Virg. *Aen.* IV. 696, *nec fato merita nec morte peribat.*

206 **διακονίας,** "the agency," the practical carrying out of your principles (*φρονήματος*).

207 **γλίχεται,** "eagerly longs," akin to *γλισχρός,* which signifies, 1st, "sticking;" 2nd, "greedy." See Curtius, *Gk. Etym.* No. 544. **τουδί,** "Ctesiphon here." **ἀγνωμοσύνῃ,** *iniquitate.* Schaef. who refers to Soph. *Oed. Col.* 86.

208 **μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι, κ.τ.λ.** This celebrated appeal to the spirits of those who had fallen in the cause of liberty, was admired unanimously by the ancient critics. See Longin. ch. 16; Quinctil. *Inst. Orat.* XI. 3. 168. **προκινδυνεύειν** is well explained by a line of Tyrtaeus, *διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένειν Νωλεμέως,* "to fight in the van." Thucyd. I. 73, *φαμὲν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι μόνοι προκινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βαρβάρῳ.*

209 **κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων,** "thou accursed quill-driver," prop. one who stoops over his writing, from *κύπτω.* **τρόπαια...ἔλεγες,** see Aesch. *Ctes.* ch. 181. **ὧν τίνος...οὑτοσί.** The argument is, "your allusions to the glory of our ancestors are irrelevant to the present trial: because nothing that *I* advised the state to do was out of keeping with what *they* did." **τὸ βῆμα.** The block of stone from which the orators spoke in the Pnyx. Cf. Ar. *Pac.* 680, *ὅστις κρατεῖ νῦν τοῦ λίθου τοῦ 'ν τῇ πυκνί.* **δικαίως...ἀπέθανον,** "had I done this, I should, I grant you, have deserved to be put to death." **ἀποθνήσκω,** passive of *ἀποκτείνω.*

210 **συμβόλαια,** "dealings," all kinds of private contracts, called also *συνθῆκαι, συναλλάγματα. Dict. Ant.* 1080 *b.* **ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων νόμων,** "to the laws which concern private matters, and to the facts." Cf. infr. 233 note. **ἀξιώματα προγόνων,** "the praiseworthy actions of our forefathers." *ἀξίωμα* has this sense only in the plural. (Concrete manifestations of the abstract idea *ἀξίωμα,* worth, cf. *δόξαι* 108. *εὐδοξίας* 322.) **βακτηρίᾳ καὶ συμβόλῳ.** On the *staff* which each dicast received

(also called *ῥάβδος*) was painted the letter indicating the court in which he was to serve. The *σύμβολον*, or ticket, he delivered to the prytanes after the sitting, and so received his fee of three obols. See Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* p. 402.

212 **ὡς ἑτέρως**=*secus*. *ἕτερόν τι* is frequently used as a euphemism for *κακόν τι*, just as Livy has *secius* for *pejus*. Pindar has *δαίμων ἕτερος*, "a sinister divine influence." This construction with *ὡς* is of course elliptical; in full it would be *θαυμαστὸν* or *δεινὸν ὡς ἑτέρως*. Thus *ὡς ἀληθῶς* occurs in ch. 63, where the full construction would be *θαυμαστὸν γάρ, ὡς ἀληθῶς δεινὸν τοῦτο*. Some however take *ὡς ἀληθῶς* as an exclamation ="how truly!" For *ἑτέρως*=*κακῶς* compare the sense of *ἄλλως*, "otherwise," only used in a bad sense.

213 **προσῆγον**, see on ch. 28. **ἐκείνους**, the Macedonian ambassadors. **αὐτούς**, the Thebans; *αὐτούς*, the Macedonians, who were the speakers. **ὁποτέρως βούλονται**, "in whichever of two ways they choose." **διέντας**, see on ch. 146.

214 **τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα**, "the details." **μὴ παρεληλυθότων...νομίσητε**, "lest as the crisis has gone by, just as men (would do) if they thought that a deluge had swept over the events, you should deem the accounts of them an idle waste of words." **ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ** elliptic. *Fals. Leg.* ch. 27 (24), *οἱ δ' ἀντιλέγοντες ὄχλος ἄλλως καὶ βασκανία κατεφαίνετο*, where Mr Shilleto translates *ὄχλος ἄλλως* "mere *bother*," and says, "the proper sense of *ὄχλος*." Comp. Eur. *Ion*, 635, *ὄχλον μέτριον* (*εἶχον*). Herod. I. 86, *ὄχλον παρεχόντων*. In both these instances *πράγματα* is more frequent. **ὅ τι δ' οὖν**, the result briefly, in opposition to the details *τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα*.

215 **μετεπέμποντο, κ.τ.λ.** Aeschines (*Ctes.* 140) gives the same account of the reception of the Athenians at Thebes, but says it was *πρὶν περὶ ξυμμαχίας μίαν μόνην συλλαβὴν γράψαι Δημοσθένην*. **τὰν μέσῳ**, supplied by Aeschines, *Ctes.* 148, who says that Philip became anxious for peace after this coalition. **ἔξω...ὄντων**, Reiske takes this as referring to the Theban soldiery "being turned outside." Dissen says it is, "whereas *your* army was outside, they brought it in." Reiske's interpretation is more probable, for if *τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἱππέων* had been meant for the Athenians, we should not have had *τὴν στρατιάν* afterwards. **καθ' ὑμῶν**, *κατὰ* c. gen. of praise, more usually of blame. *Philipp.* II. p. 68, *ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον*. Aeschin. *Ctes.* 50, *οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἐπαινοι*.

216 **τὰς πρώτας**. *Vulg. Lect. μάχας*. **τὴν χειμερινήν**, either "that during the storm," as the battle of Arginusae was fought, or "that in the winter season." Difficulties attend both these interpretations. But as Mr Clinton, in the *Fasti*

Hellenici, proves beyond question that there was no winter campaign at all between the capture of Elatea and the battle of Chaeronea, we must acquiesce in the first of them. Dissen says, the word is corrupt, and Thirlwall (Vol. VI. p. 66) says, "the battle of the storm is not quite satisfactory, but anything is better than the winter battle." Grote however maintains the other interpretation, and we should expect χειμερίαν rather than χειμερινὴν in the sense of "of the storm." ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, the river Cephissus. κόσμῳ, "discipline."

217 ἐξητάζετο, "was found," as above, ch. 173, καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξηταζόμην τὰ δέοντα. δυσμεναίνων, a poetic word, which implies a deep, sullen resentment: we may translate "sulking." Cf. Eur. *Med.* 874. It is the Homeric μενεαίνω (μενεσ-αν-jω) to be vehemently angry, compounded with δυσ-.

218 περιειστήκει...ἐμοί. Observe how admirably the antithesis is kept up throughout the sentence: "you began by thinking you would be in want of assistance in consequence of the doings of these men (Aeschines and his party); you ended (περιειστήκει) by yourselves assisting others in consequence of my advice, which you followed." ἵν' εἰδῆτε...ἀπειργάσατο, "that you may know what was achieved by my persistence, my journeyings in different states, and my numerous propositions which Aeschines was just now disparaging." συνέχεια is often found in Plato in the sense of "a continued series."

219 Καλλίστρατος was the celebrated orator whose speech on the subject of Oropus first inflamed Demosthenes to the study of eloquence, B.C. 366. His countrymen never forgave Callistratus this speech, but put him to death 10 years after. See *Biog. Dict.* Cephalus flourished at the time of the Thirty Tyrants, and helped to expel them, see ch. 251, and Aesch. *Ctes.* 194. Aristophon, see on 75 and 162. Thrasybulus, Thirlwall's *Greece*, IV. ch. 31. ἀναφορά, see note on ch. 17, and compare Eur. *Or.* 76. 414. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀναφορὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς, see Paley's note. Cp. also Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* 104. εἴ τι γένοιτο, see on ch. 168.

220 ἀγαπητὸν εἶναι, "it was a thing to be contented with," "one ought to think oneself well off, if able to do," &c., see on ch. 112.

221 ἐν πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἔταττον, "I kept putting myself in every post," i.e. that fell vacant, which is the force of the imperfect. ἐπιστολάς, mentioned above, ch. 218.

222 ἐπαιρόμενος λόγους. Schaefer remarks "Talibus in locutionibus usus medii sollennis est, ut non mirer Elmsleium hoc Demosthenis loco usum in Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 635, στάσιν

γλώσσης ἐπήρασθ' praetulisse vulgatae ἐπήρατ'." Cf. *Fals. Leg.* 167 (153), ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶχεν ὑμῖν ἀνατείνασθαι φοβερόν. **ἀποπεφευγότα,** "that were acquitted" from the attack of Diondas.

223 **τῷ γραψαμένῳ συγκατηγόρησεν**=*fuit subscriptor.* Cic. *in Caecil.* 15. **μᾶλλον εἰκότως,** "more reasonably," not as Schaefer says, "with greater probability of success."

224 **ἀνενεγκεῖν,** "to have recourse to them for an excuse." V. sup. ἀναφορά, ch. 219. **τοὺς νόμους,** cf. Dem. *c. Lept.* 147, οἱ νόμοι δ' οὐκ ἐῶσι δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας εἶναι κ.τ.λ. **τότε δέ...προλαβεῖν,** "but at that time the question would have been decided on its own merits, before it acquired any of these precedents." Schaefer is wrong in wishing to read προσλαβεῖν.

225 **μετενεγκόντα...λέγειν,** "by having shifted the dates, and substituted false motives for the true ones in all that was done, to get the credit of saying something to the purpose." τι λέγειν opp. to οὐδὲν λέγειν. Eur. *Elect.* 939, ἡΰχεις τις εἶναι. *Oed. Tyr.* 1475. Compare the common use of *aliquis* in Latin "*Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum Si vis esse* aliquid." Juvenal, I. 73. See Mayor's note.

226 **ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας,** see on ch. 22 and inf. 233 note. **τοὺς παρ' αὐτά...ἐλέγχους,** see on ch. 13. **ῥητόρων ἀγῶνα.** Thucyd. III. 67, οὐ λόγων ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων.

227 **σοφίζεται,** see Aesch. *in Ctes.* 59, 60. **ὥσπερ...συγχωρεῖτε,** "as when in money matters you reckon up accounts with the idea that there is a balance in some one's favour: if the figures prove correct, and there is no balance, you are satisfied." **καθαιρῶσιν.** If this stands, it must govern some substantive understood, as τὸν λογισμόν. The common reading is καθαραὶ ὦσιν which Dobree prefers. **ψῆφοι,** properly "pebbles," which were used for counters.

228 **ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους,** see on ch. 95. ἡμᾶς is the reading of one MS Σ, now generally adopted, ὑμᾶς of the rest. With the latter reading translate, "that you have already made your decision in our case." Bekker first proposed to read ἡμᾶς for ὑμᾶς, and translates it "nos esse cognitos=de nobis constare," thus avoiding the necessity of taking ἐγνωσμένους in an active sense.

230 **ἐκ θαλάττης,** "on the side of the sea," cf. inf. 301. **λαβόντα Βυζάντιον,** "by having occupied Byzantium," which would have given him the keys of the Hellespont, see ch. 93.

231 **ἀντανελεῖν,** "to cancel," properly to take away equal

parts from both sides, as in an equation. **καὶ οὐκέτι προστίθημι**, "and I will not *now* proceed to add." *προστίθημι* still keeps up the arithmetical metaphor commenced in ch. 227, "to add as an item to the account." **ἣν ἐπλάττετο**, "which he used to feign while compassing the rest of his objects." **καλῶς ποιοῦντες** expresses the opinion of the speaker, "and I am sure I am glad of it." Cf. *Leptin.* p. 490. § 110. Aesch. *Ctes.* 232, *καὶ φατὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἐστὲ καλῶς ποιοῦντες.*

232 **παραδείγματα...μιμούμενος**, "forging specimens, and mimicking my phraseology and attitudes." Aesch. *Ctes.* 166. **πάνυ γάρ...παρηνεγκα.** Cic. *Orat.* 8, speaks of the *εἰρωνεία* of this passage: *itaque se purgans iocatur Demosthenes; negat in eo positas esse fortunas Graeciae, hocine an illo verbo usus sit, hucine an illuc manum porrexerit.*

233 **ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων**, "by the test of my actions alone." *ἐπὶ* c. gen. of the basis upon which an opinion is to be formed cf. supr. 22. 210. 226.

234 **προεξειλεγμένα**, "previously collected," so that whatever I could levy must be extraordinary contribution. Read *ὁπλίτην δ' ἢ ἱππέα.* **παρεσκευάκεισαν...ἐγγυτέρω**, "these traitors had so tampered with the surrounding states, as to make them more inclined to hostility than friendship." The termination *-εισαν* of the 3rd pl. plusq. perf., instead of *-εσαν*, is of very rare occurrence in Attic.

235 **παρὰ ταῦτα**, "besides this." **τὰ ὅπλα...ἀεί.** Both in the summer and winter seasons. Cf. *Philipp.* III. p. 124, § 50 *καὶ σιωπῶ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, κ.τ.λ.* **βουλευόμενος**, after this word *οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντούντων κρινόμενος* is generally read.

236 **δι' ἥν πρόφασιν**, "through whatever plausible arguments they used in each case." **ἕκαστον** nom. to *τύχοι.* subaud. *γιγνόμενον.*

237 **ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων**, "starting with these disadvantages." *ἐλαττοῦμαι*, ch. 3. **ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων**, "besides the free citizens who served," not Athenians, but of the allies. Aeschines (*Ctes.* 97 and 146) says the number of mercenaries employed was 10,000. But he does not reckon in those sent by the Thebans, with whom alliance was concluded after the events he is mentioning. These allies did not all fight at Chaeronea. **ὅσων ἠδυνήθην**, "from as many states as I could," scil. from all those who did not send troops.

238 **περὶ τῶν ἴσων**, "about equality of contribution," i.e. that Athens ought to contribute to the war exactly as much as the other states, and no more. See Aesch. *in Ctes.* 143, *τῶν εἰς*

τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων τὰ δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκε, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίοις.

239 **παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας καιρούς.** Schaefer says *παρά* = *διά* here. But it is better to take it as above, ch. 13, *παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα*, transl. "if it was possible to do so at the time when the emergencies were before us." **ὅσα ἠβουλόμεθα,** definite things, therefore the indicative is used; *δοίη*, indefinite things, therefore the optative. **ὁ ἀντωνούμενος,** "he that was bidding against us."

241 **τοῦ μὲν...γέγονεν.** All this is supposed to be spoken by the adversary in the *directa oratio*. **ἄπλους,** "impassable, impracticable for navigation." **ἁπλοῦς,** "simple."

242 **πονηρόν.** This use of the neuter is peculiarly emphatic. Dissen remarks on this passage: "ut hic contemptus significatur, sic in illo notissimo 'triste lupus stabulis' terroris notio augetur neutro." Cf. Plat. *Theaet.* p. 195 B. **τοῦτο δέ... παράσημος ῥήτωρ,** "but this creature is a fox by his very nature; since from the first he has never done a single honest or liberal action—a veritable tragic ape—an Oenomaus for rustic audiences—a counterfeit orator." **κίναδος,** (R[t] *κναδ*) prop. the *biting* animal. Akin to it are *κνώδαλον* and *κνίζω*. **ἀρουραῖος,** not "a clownish, bad actor," but acting in the country, at the rural Dionysia; wherefore in ch. 180 we are expressly told that Aeschines took the part of Oenomaus *ἐν* Κολλύτῳ (one of the Attic demes). **παράσημος,** metaph. *ἀπὸ κόμματος*, "base-coined." Cf. Arist. *Acharn.* 517, *ἀνδράρια μοχθηρά, παρακεκομμένα, ἄτιμα, καὶ παράσημα*, and *Ranae*, 721 ff.

243 **ἰατρός.** Aeschines anticipates this argument, *Ctes.* 225. **ἀσθενοῦσι τοῖς κάμνουσιν,** "to his patients when lying ill. **ἀσθενέω** = Lat. *cubo*. **ἀποφεύξονται.** The tense denotes the facility of escape, "by the use of what remedies they would *in all probability* escape." **διεξίοι,** "should go through the technical details," i.e. should enumerate all the possible remedies in detail. **ἐμβρόντητε...λέγεις;** "lunatic—after this, can you say another word?"

244 **γαυριᾷς,** "exult," *γαῦρος* is akin to *γαίω, γήθω*, perhaps to *ἀγαύος, ἄγαμαι*. Curt. No. 22. **οὐ παρὰ...Βυζαντίου,** Arn. Schaefer places these two embassies in the year 341, immediately after the delivery of the third Philippic. **Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεῖς** were Teres and Cersobleptes. Aeschines mentions this, embassy, *Ctes.* 256.

245 **σκαιός,** see on ch. 120.

246 **οὐ παραιτοῦμαι,** "I do not beg off," ask to be excused—*non deprecor*. **πολιτικά** = *οἰκεῖα*, "inherent in, natural

to," we may say, "constitutional defects." **εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι,** "to contract (prop. furl) into the smallest possible range." **ὁρμήν,** "impulse."

247 **κατέπραξε,** see on ch. 86 and 178. **καὶ μήν...Φίλιππου.** "Nay more: in the question as to whether or no I was corrupted by bribes, I have got the better of Philip: for just as the bidder has obtained an advantage over the receiver, if he succeeds in purchasing his services, so also he who refuses to be corrupted has obtained an advantage over the bidder." **πρίηται,** aorist subj. Dissen reads *ὁ μὴ λαβὼν μηδὲ διαφθαρείς.*

248 **ἡνίκ'...ἐμέ,** "when it was by no means a matter for surprise that the majority should feel harshly disposed towards me." Cf. 207. **εἰς τὰ τείχη,** "for the restoration of the walls." It was on this occasion that Demosthenes gave three talents out of his private fortune.

249 **ἀπόνοια,** "recklessness," *dementia:* so *ἀπονενοημένος=demens. F. L.* 77 (69). Diondas is mentioned in ch. 222, as having unsuccessfully opposed Hyperides' decree to crown Demosthenes. Nothing is known of Sosicles and Melanthus. Philocrates of the borough Eleusis must not be confounded with Philocrates the Agnusian, who had been condemned to death, and was now living in exile, see ch. 17. **τοῦτο γάρ...δικαστῶν,** "for this verdict is both true, and such as becomes sworn judges who made their decision consistently with the oath they had taken." For the difference between *εὔορκος* and *ἔνορκος,* see Buttmann's Index *in Midiam.* **εὔορκον,** "that which we do in conscientious observance of an oath." **ἔνορκον,** simply "that to which we are bound by an oath."

250 **γραφάς,** scil. *παρανόμων...ἐπεσημαίνεσθε,* "you affixed your seals to my accounts;" this was done by the *λογισταί,* or commissioners for auditing the accounts of public officers, see *Dict. Antiq.* p. 478.

251 **Ναί, φησίν...φεύγειν,** "Nay, he answers, but the boast of Cephalus was a glorious one, that he had never been defendant in a single indictment." For the quasi-negative sense of *ναί* (=English, "nay"), see Mr Shilleto's Appendix to his edition of the *Fals. Legat.* Cephalus, see above, 219, and Aesch. *in Ctes.* 194. **νὴ Δία** is not ironical here. **πρός γε τοῦτον,** "at any rate as far as Aeschines is concerned."

252—276 Comparison of the fortune which had attended Aeschines and Demosthenes.

252 **διελέχθη,** see Aesch. *in Ctes.* ch. 157. **προφέρει** here =*ἀναφέρει, exprobat.* Cf. Hom. *Iliad,* II. 251; III. 64;

Orat. in Mid. p. 576, § 190. **χρῆται τῷ λόγῳ**, the present tense implying that Aeschines *always* did so. **ἀνθρωπινώτερον**, "more humbly."

253 **ἐγώ...ἡγοῦμαι.** To prove this he quotes the well-known verses of Solon in *Fals. Leg.* p. 421, § 286 (255). Compare a similar passage in *Epist. Demosth.* IV. p. 1487. **ἐπέχει**, absolute, "prevails."

254 **τῶν Ἑλλήνων.** He alludes more particularly to the Peloponnesian states, most of whom were neutral at the battle of Chaeronea. **προσκροῦσαι**, "that we received a shock." **τὸ ἐπιβάλλον...μέρος**, "the part that falls to our share," see below, ch. 272, and comp. Herod. IV. 115.

255 **ἀξιῶ**, *arbitror*, (Schaefer) "I hold." **κυριωτέραν**, "more influential."

256 **πάντως**, "at all events," "in any case." **ψυχρότητα**, "of bad taste," of selecting a topic which is *ψυχρόν*, unacceptable to the audience or of which it has heard enough. Cf. *F. L.* 207 (187), *τὸ ψυχρὸν τοῦτο ὄνομα, τὸ ἄχρι κόρου. in Mid.* 112, *ἕωλα καὶ ψυχρά.* Quintilian, II. 4. 29 (quoted by Cope, Introd. *Ar. Rhet.* III. 3. 7), *fastidium movere velut frigidi et repositi cibi.* **ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων**, "as far as the subject will allow me."

257 The common reading here is *μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα, κ.τ.λ.* **αἰσχρόν**, "mean." **ἀκόλουθα**, "consistently, things in keeping with my education." **εἰσφέρειν**, "fo pay the *εἰσφορά*, or extraordinary tax for war." **ὡς οὐ καλά γ' ἦν.** The force of *γε* is "at least honourable, if not successful."

258 **συμβεβίωκα**, "such fortune has attended me in life." Comp. Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 1293. *συγγενῶς δύστηνος ὤν*, "unfortunate from (coevally with) his birth." **τὸ μέλαν τρίβων**, "preparing the ink," prop. pounding. **βάθρα**, "forms."

259 See Appendix B. for Mr Mitchell's translation of this passage. The whole is a description of the Phrygian or Sabazian rights as practised at Athens. **τελούσῃ**, "performing the initiatory ceremonies." **συνεσκευωροῦ**, "assisted in her other impostures." **νεβρίζων.** Mitchell is right in giving all these verbs an active signification, as *ὁρκίζω, κακίζω, ἁλίζω, &c.* **πηλῷ**, "fullers' earth." **πίτυρα** = *παιπάλη*, used in Arist. *Nub.* 263. Compare the whole passage Eur. *Bacch.* 695, *καὶ πρῶτα μὲν καθεῖσαν εἰς ὤμους κομὰς Νεβρίδας τ' ἀνεστείλανθ' ὅσαισιν ἀμμάτων Σύνδεσμ' ἐλέλυτο, καὶ καταστίκτους δορὰς Ὄφεσι κατεζώσαντο λιχμῶσιν γένυν.* See also v. 137 and 176 of the same play, and Arist. *Ranae*, 1211, for the use of *νεβρίδες.* **ὀλολύζω** *is here* in its original sense of a jubilant religious cry (see Eur.

Bacch. 689) opposed to the funereal wail, Eur. *Med.* 1176, εἶτ' ἀντίμολπον ἦκεν ὀλολυγῆς μέγαν κωκυτόν. In Eur. *Elect.* 691 it is "a cry of joy."

260 **μαράθῳ**, id. qu. νάρθηξ, *Bacch.* 706. **λεύκῃ**, "white poplar leaves." **ὄφεις παρείας**, Arist. *Plut.* 690, κἄτα συρίας ἐγὼ 'Οδὰξ ἐλαβόμην, ὡς παρείας ὢν ὄφις. The Scholiasts interpret this word *qui inflatas habent maxillas*, (πεφυσιωμένας γνάθους), so we may perhaps translate "puff-adders," though this snake is a native of Africa. The interpretation "brown" (or "copper-red" as Mitchell has it) appears to confound παρείας with a doubtful adject. πάρωος. **ξαρχος...νεήλατα**, "leader of the chorus, master of the ceremonies, casket-bearer, fan-bearer," with these and such like names you were greeted by all the crones in the place; and for pay, you received sweetmeats, and twists, and cakes of fresh flour." **κιττοφόρος**, "ivy-bearer," not so good a reading as κιστοφόρος—the chest in which the mysteries were supposed to be carried is mentioned by Tibullus, I. 7, 48. **λίκνον**, the *mystica vannus Iacchi* of Virgil.

261 **ἐπειδή γ' ἐνεγράφης**, the usual reading is ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν, "when as I say."

262 **τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις**, "nicknamed the Lugubrious." ἐπικαλῶ (generally ἀποκαλῶ is used to express this, see *Ajax*, 727) not always in a bad sense; in a good one, Aesch. *Ctes.* 181, Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος ἐπικαλούμενος, "surnamed the Just." **σῦκα...ἠγωνίζεσθε.** The reading in the text appears to be right, except perhaps in omitting ἐκεῖνος after ὀπωρώνης. The probable meaning of this difficult passage is "picking up figs and bunches of grapes and olives (which were thrown at you on the stage) just like a fruit-gatherer (if ἐκεῖνος, "the fruit-gatherer in the story") from other people's orchards, and getting more out of them than out of the battles which you had to fight for your lives." **ἀγώνων**, the scenic performances, for which the actors were pelted. **πλείω λαμβάνων.** There is no necessity to read τραύματα here: it expresses a *double entendre*, "getting more," either profit or hard knocks. **ἐλᾶας**, an exception to the general rule, by which the names of trees end in -α, of fruit in -ον.

263 **τρόπου**, "your character." **δι' ἣν.** Resolve this into ὥστε δι' αὐτήν.

265 **γράμματα.** Mitchell, on Arist. *Equit.* 187, says, "Since *letters* served the purpose of *figures* among the ancients, γράμματα may be considered as equivalent to our 'reading, writing and arithmetic.'" **ἐφοίτων**, "went to school:" φοιτάω used of any *regular* visiting, as of a day-scholar to the

διδασκαλεῖον (cf. Arist. *Nub.* 916, *Equit.* 1235), a lover to his mistress, a wrestler to the palaestra, &c. ἐγραμμάτευες, see on ch. 127. ἐξέπιπτες, *explosus es*, "you were hissed off the stage." The active of this would be ἐκβάλλω, *Fals. Leg.* 389 (337), ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε. Plat. *Gorg.* 517, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐξέπεσον. ἐτέλεις (sup.) in Sabaziis, ἐτελούμην in Eleusiniis, *Dissen.* After ἐτελούμην most MSS. have ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν.

266 πεπαῦσθαι, see on ch. 82, fin.

267 παρ' ἃς...ἐλυμαίνου, "as a parallel to which, pray (μοι) read the speeches that you used to murder." ἐλυμαίνου. In ch. 180, we have ἐπέτριψας used in this sense. κακαγγελεῖν ...θέλοντά με. This line is not in any existing play. πονηρόν... τριταγωνιστήν, "seeing that you are villainously bad, both as a citizen and as—an actor of third-rate parts." A similar instance of anticlimax παρὰ προσδοκίαν, or bathos, occurs in *Fals. Leg.* 109 (98), ὧν οἶμαι πονηρὸς καὶ θεοῖς ἔχθρος...καὶ γραμματεύς.

268 κοινός, "a good citizen" (Lat. *civilis*, one interested in the welfare of his fellow-citizens). φιλανθρωπος, "humane." ἐλυσάμην, "ransomed," λῦσαι would be "to set free gratuitously." τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, "a helper of the needy." συνεξέδωκα, "I shared in portioning out," i.e. to marriage. Cf. Aesch. *Ctes.* 258, Ἀριστείδην...οὗ τελευτήσαντος τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος.

269 οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι...ἀρκεῖ μοι, "nothing shall induce me to do so: but I rest satisfied with the opinion that has been generally conceived of me in these matters."

271 φορὰν πραγμάτων, "a crop of troubles," see on ch. 61. For πράγματα in the sense of "troubles," compare ch. 292, φάσκων δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα τὴν πόλιν ἐμπεσεῖν.

272 εἰ μέν, "if, as was *not* the case." εἰ δέ, "if, as *was* the case."

273 Join ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις, "for certainly it was not out of good-will that you left open for me the field of expectations and ambition and honours." For παρεχώρεις, see on ch. 68.

274 ἀδικεῖ τις ἑκών; "is any one engaged in wilful, voluntary crime?" ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων; "has any one made an involuntary slip," or lapse from the right way? ἀδικεῖ and ἐξήμαρτε contrasted. ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν, sc. διωρισμένα ὁρῶ. συνάχθεσθαι = the dramatic words συνασχαλᾶν—συναλγεῖν, "to condole, sympathize with."

275 **νομίμοις**, "written laws," as well as general customs of mankind. **ἀγράφοις**, so *Antig.*, *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα.* In England *νόμοι ἄγραφοι* would answer to the common law, *γεγραμμένοι* to statute law.

276—285 Vindication of Demosthenes' eloquence.

276 **ἁπλῶς**, "honestly." **ἐκέλευεν**, "kept bidding you." **καὶ δή**=*ἤδη*, "his allegations forthwith become facts."

277 **οὕτως...φρονεῖν**, "in the same proportion the speaker gets the credit of being a man of sense." **ταύτην μέν...ἰδίᾳ**, "every one of you will discover that this is at all times exerted *for* your interests in the state affairs, and on no occasion *against* your interests nor in my own private quarrels." **ἐξετάζομαι**= Lat. *versor*, as in *Timoc.* p. 701, *ἐν ἀγῶσι καὶ γραφαῖς δημοσίαις ἐξετάζομαι.*

278 **εἰσιέναι**, "to come into court," used of an actor coming upon the stage, hence it often signifies to take a particular character, see on ch. 180. **διακείμενα**, "disposed." **μάλιστα μέν**, "if possible," i.e. it would be best for him, if he had not, &c. **σφοδρόν**=*validum* (*σφοδρά*, *valde*). **ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ**, *res est populo*, "the people have to deal."

279 **στεφάνου...συνεσκευασμένον**, "to be here with an accusation ready made and packed together touching my crown and vote of thanks." **ἥκειν κατηγορίαν συνεσκευασμένον**=*ἥκειν ἔχων κατηγ. συνεσκευασμένην.* **τόνδε**, Ctesiphon.

281 **οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς** (sub. **ἀγκύρας**) **ὁρμεῖ**, "rides not on the same anchor with," see Porson on Eurip. *Orest.* 69, *ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς ῥώμης ὀχούμεθ'*, and Arist. *Equit.* 1241, *λεπτή τις ἐλπὶς ἐστ', ἐφ' ἧς ὀχούμεθα.* **ἐξαίρετον**, "exclusively mine," a sort of *peculium. Fals. Leg.* 275 (247).

282 **ἆρ' οὖν...ὃς εὐθέως**, κ.τ.λ. "Pray then did *you* not do so in like manner? Why how is that possible, since you immediately after the battle commenced your journey?" &c. The use of *καὶ πῶς* is well known: it is invariably intended to express a doubt or disbelief of what has been just stated: *πῶς καί* merely asks for additional information, see Porson on *Phoeniss.* 1373. **ἀρνούμενος τὴν χρείαν**, "though you disowned the connexion."

283 **μηδέν...πρᾶγμα**, "that you and Philip had nothing to do with each other." Herod. v. 84, fin.

284 **ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώριμος**. *Diminuendo*, "guest-friend, or friend at all, or even commonly acquainted with."

285—324 Recapitulation.

285 **χειροτονῶν γάρ,** see on ch. 18. **προβληθέντα,** "though you were proposed, nominated," as ch. 149, *προβληθεὶς πυλαγόρας οὗτος ἀνερρήθη.* Demades was taken prisoner at Chaeronea, but released by Philip's command. **Πυθοκλέους,** see *Fals. Leg.* 249 (225). **ἔτ' ἄμεινον,** "all the *more* for that;" compare the sense of *καλῶς* = "very," *Oed. Tyr.* 1008, *ὦ παῖ, καλῶς εἶ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τί δρᾷς.*

286 **τούς...ἄδειαν,** "those who took advantage of the public misfortunes to declare their real sentiments with impunity."

287 **ἐκεῖ,** "at Philip's court." **ὑποκρινομένους,** "acting a part," see on ch. 15. **ἐκείνων,** scil. **τῶν Ἑλλήνων.** Compare with the whole passage, *Fals. Leg.* 141 (128).

288 **ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ** = *παρ' ὡς οἰκειοτάτῳ,* "at the house of one who was most nearly connected with them." **τὸ περίδειπνον,** "the after-feast." The custom of feasting at funerals was of very ancient date, and in the heroic ages was accompanied by games, as we learn from Homer. It continued until a late period in our own history. Shakespeare mentions it (*Hamlet*, Act I. Scene 2), "the funeral baked meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables:" and Sir Walter Scott gives a graphic description of it in the opening scene of his *Bride of Lammermoor.*

289 **δημοσίᾳ,** "at the public expense." **ἐπιγράψαι.** Cf. Thucyd. II. 43. *Ἐπίγ.* V. 2, *ἀπεσκέδασαν.* This somewhat vain-glorious boast can only refer to the two actions which preceded the battle of Chaeronea, and in which the allies were partially successful. V. 3, *λήματος.* This reading was originally proposed by Valckenaer instead of *δείματος,* of which it was found difficult to give any satisfactory explanation. Translate, "whilst fighting the battle of courage and native spirit, they saved not their lives, but took unto themselves Hades for an impartial arbitrator." If *δείματος* stands, we must consider *οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς* as a kind of parenthesis, or break in the sentence, and translate, "whilst fighting, they saved not their lives indeed, but made Hades an impartial umpire between valour and faint-heartedness," i.e. left death to decide who were *ἀγαθοί* and who *δειλοί,* and proved *themselves* to be *ἀγαθοί* by the fact that *οὐκ ἐσάωσαν ψυχάς.* Thus *δείματος* and *ἀρετῆς* will depend on *βραβῆ.* V. 8, *ἥδε κρίσις,* "this is the award," scil. *γῆν ἐπιέσσασθαι.* Dissen. Others refer the words to the following line. V. 9, *μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν,* "to fail, go wrong in nothing." V. 10, *ἔπορεν,* scil. *Ζεύς.*

291 **λαρυγγίζων,** "bawling, straining his windpipe."

Arist. *Equit.* 358, λαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας, "I will out-bellow the orators," a better translation than "I will throttle."

292 φροντίζειν, with genitive, see on ch. 190. τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν=τῇ πολιτείᾳ. εἰς πράγματα, "into trouble," as φορὰ πραγμάτων, ch. 271.

294 ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου. Comp. *Philipp.* IV. p. 141, ἀνελεῖν ἐκ μέσου τὰς βλασφημίας. ἀναθεῖεν, see on ch. 17, where ἀνατιθεῖς is used without τὴν αἰτίαν. ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλήν gives force and emphasis to the expression.

295 Cicero imitates this passage, *Verrin. Act.* II. *Orat.* IV. 26. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας πολίτας, "of their own faction," Schaefer. "Quos decipere poterant," Dissen. "Each deceiving the citizens with whom they had to deal." Harpocration tells us that a full account of these traitors and the history of that period was given in the now lost books of Theopompus.

296 ἀλάστορες, "spirits of evil" sent to punish the human race. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 354. ἠκρωτηριασμένοι, "who have dismembered, mutilated," prop. "cut off the extremities" (ἀκρωτήρια). Cic. (*Orat. p. reditum in senat.* II. 4) speaks of *interfectores reipublicae.* προπεπωκότες, "having betrayed," or as we may perhaps translate it, "pledged." προπίνω, (1) *propino,* (2) *dono,* (3) *prodo.* The 2nd sense comes from the 1st, because it was anciently the custom to give the drinking vessel to the person whose health was drunk.

297 περιβοήτου, "notorious, infamous," used in a good sense, Thucyd. VI. 31, ὁ στόλος (εἰς Σικελίαν) περιβόητος ἐγένετο.

298 φιλανθρωπία λόγων=πειθώ. The endeavour to make others feel φίλοι towards the speaker. Comp. *Mid.* p. 538, § 75. τρυτάνη, prop. "the tongue of a balance." ῥέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα, "inclining to the side of gain."

299 πόρρω, "far below." οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα, κ.τ.λ. This fine image is taken from Alcaeus. We find a similar sentiment in the speech of Nicias, Thucyd. VII. 77; and Sir William Jones has founded on this passage his celebrated ode beginning "What constitutes a state," &c.

300 προὐβαλόμην, see ch. 97 and 195.

301 παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν, understand γῆν or χώραν, "along a line of coast everywhere friendly to us." So ἡ πολεμία is frequently used for the reverse.

302 Προκόννησος, an island in the Propontis, colonized by the Milesians.

303 Connect **βεβουλευμένα** with **ὀρθῶς**. **προεθέντα**, "deliberately given up." **παρεθέντα**, "passed by through negligence." **ἐλυμαίνετο**, "kept bringing disasters upon," imperf. because followed by *ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν*. **τοῖς ὅλοις**, "the collective interests of the state," i.e. the common weal, as in ch. 28. **λυμαίνομαι** takes the dative here, because it has the notion of successive attacks *upon* or *against:* but in ch. 312, the accusative (*ἐλυμήνω τὸν νόμον*), because its sense is that of *φθείρω*, to spoil, tamper with; see note on *ἐξίσταμαι*, 319.

305 **πολλῷ ἐλάττοσι**, "falling far short of." **λέγε καὶ ἀνάγνωθι**. Reiske translates this, "pronuntia haec de scripto recitanda." But it is not easy to see what distinction he intends to draw between the words. Pleonastic expressions in legal formulae are surely not matter for surprise. Cf. ch. 28.

306 **ὑπῆρχεν** has here a sort of conditional sense, "it was within our reach." **μεγίστοις** agrees with *ἡμῖν*, or *τοῖς πολίταις* understood. **ὡς ἑτέρως**, see on ch. 212. **κακίζειν**, "to call or make out *κακός*:" hence as here, "to blame, reproach." Herod. III. 145, *λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν*.

307 **μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων**, "to take his stand upon these principles." **ὕπουλον**, a word properly applied to a wound that is cicatrized or healed over, but still festers within; hence, "insidious, hollow." In Soph. *Oed. Rex*, we have *κάλλος κακῶν ὕπουλον*, and Thucyd. VIII. 64, *ὕπουλος αὐτονομία*. Aeschines attempts to excuse this *ἡσυχία*, *Ctes.* ch. 216.

308 **μεστοί**=*pleni ad nauseam*, "surfeited with." **ῥήτωρ .. ἐφάνη**, "was seen suddenly starting up an orator from his quietude, like a gale after a calm." The aorist *ἐφάνη* expresses the suddenness of his appearance, and the return to the present tense in *συνείρει*, that *after* his appearance he kept constantly stringing together words, &c., ch. 140. **συνειλοχὼς ῥήματα**. So Arist. *Ran.* 874, *Κρητικὰς συλλέγων μονῳδίας*, *Acharn.* 405, *ὁ νοῦς μὲν ἔξω συλλέγων ἐπύλλια*.

309 **μελέτης καὶ ἐπιμελείας**, "study and elaboration" in speaking. **ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν**, "the permanent establishment of a mart."

310 **τούτων...ἐξέτασις**, "in all these ways a man might approve himself in former times." *ἐξέτασις*, an examination, as it were, for which anyone might enter. **οὐδαμοῦ φανήσει γεγονώς**, "you will be proved to have been a mere cipher," in which sense *οὐδαμοῦ φανῆναι* is common. Cf. *Fals. Leg.* ch. 126 (116). Allusion is made to the famous response of the oracle to the Megareans, Theocr. XIV. 49. Schol. *ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι, οὔτε τέταρτοι, οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν*

ἀριθμῷ. ἐν οἷς, scil. καλοῖς τε κἀγαθοῖς. Pors. *ad Eur. Orest.* 910.

311 τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις...χρημάτων = "what improvement in the financial laws did you make?" Demosthenes indirectly refers to his own Trierarchic law.

312 Aristonicus may be the same individual who is mentioned, ch. 83, 84, as having before proposed to crown Demosthenes. κηδεστοῦ, "your relation by marriage." ἔρανον δωρεάν, "subscribed as a present for your services in spoiling my law about the Trierarchy." ἔρανος, prop. that kind of feast called by us "a pic-nic," to which each guest contributed a dish. 2nd, any club or society of subscribers. 3rd, the money so subscribed. ἐλυμήνω, see on ch. 303.

313 τραγικ' Θεοκρίνης, "patheticas querelas simulate fundentem calumniandi causa," veluti ubi Aeschines de Thebana calamitate queritur. (Dissen.) Theocrines was an informer, against whom a speech attributed to Demosthenes is still extant.

314 εἶτα...μέμνησαι. Aesch. *Ctes.* ch. 178 sqq. προλαβόντα, "taking advantage of" or "using as a precedent," as in ch. 224.

315 τοῖς ζῶσι...φθόνος. So Horace, *Od.* III. 24, *virtutem incolumem odimus, Sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.*

316 ἡλίκας, accus. by attraction. ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα βίον, "towards the present generation." Funkhaenel takes γιγνομένας ἐπὶ to mean "that are reckoned to, placed to the credit of." φιλανθρωπίας, "the good-will" with which mankind regards them.

318 ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός. In *Fals. Leg.* 262 (237), Demosthenes mentions two brothers of Aeschines, namely Aphobetus and Philochares. The latter is probably meant here, as he had been a στρατηγός. See also Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* 149.

319 Φιλάμμων, mentioned by Aristot. *Rhet.* III. cap. 11. Glaucus was victor in boxing at Olympia in Olymp. 25. οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι, "I avoid, shirk no one." This verb, when followed by the accusative, must always be so translated. With the dative its sense would be "give place to, yield to." Many verbs thus regulate the case they govern by the idea contained in them, see λυμαίνομαι above, 334 and 312: so also ἐκτρέπομαί τινα or τινος. Compare Soph. *Aj.* 82, φρονοῦντα γάρ νιν οὐδ' ἂν ἐξέστην ὄκνῳ, and v. 672 of the same play, ἐξίσταται γὰρ νυκτὸς αἰανῆς κύκλος Τῇ λευκοπώλῳ ἡμέρᾳ. See also *Leptin.* 10, οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν. From these passages we may lay

down the rule thus:

ἐξίσταμαι takes { dative where εἴκω might be used / accus. where φεύγω...

Assurgo in Latin answers to ἐξίσταμαι, with dat. Virg. *Georg.* II. 98, *Tmolus et assurgit quibus.* *Eclog.* VI. 66.

320 **ἐφάμιλλος**=περιμάχητος, cf. *Lept.* 102. **ἱπποτρόφος**, *magnus et splendidus certator.* Dissen. Keeping a race-horse was an indication of wealth. Cf. Ar. *Nub.* init.

321 **ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις** (*potestatibus*), "in his offices, when in office," not as Dissen says, "opportuna momenta, ubi liceat τὰ πρωτεῖα persequi." Plat. *Alc.* I. 135 A.

322 **ἐξαιτούμενος**, scil. by Alexander, B.C. 335, see on ch. 41. **ἐπαγόντων**, scil. those who were in the Macedonian interest, see Aesch. *Ctes.* ch. 161. **οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων.** Before this οὐκ ἀπειλούντων is usually read. "Neither when they made me promises, nor when they threatened me, nor when they hounded on these accursed wretches like so many wild beasts against me." **ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς**, "from the beginning onwards." **θεραπεύειν**, prop. "to wait upon, court," hence "to watch for opportunities of aiding." Cf. *sup.* ch. 307.

323 **ἑτέρων**=τῶν πολεμίων, see on ch. 212. **εὐαγγελιζόμενος...οἴωμαι**, "offering my congratulations to all whom I think likely to report them in Macedonia." **κύπτων.** Caes. *Bell. Gall.* I. 32, *demisso capite terram intueri.*

324 **μάλιστα...τούτοις**, "if possible, inspire even these men," &c. **αὐτούς...προώλεις**, "bring ye to utter and untimely ruin them, and them alone." The expression occurs, *Fals. Leg.* 190 (172).

APPENDIX A.

(From the *Classical Museum*, I. § 12.)

ON THE ψηφίσματα AND OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS CONTAINED IN THE DE CORONA.

THERE are thirty-four documents in all, quoted or referred to, in the *De Coronâ*. Of these twenty-seven are actually given us, being the *first* twenty-seven in order, whereas the *last* seven are supposed to be lost. Now this fact has some effect in lowering the external evidence of the extant twenty-seven as denoting that they have been inserted by a later hand. If we look into the documents themselves, the internal evidence in favour of this supposition is still stronger. Every one of the Archons mentioned by them are fictitious (ψευδώνυμοι), except in the solitary instance of Charondas. The following table shews the names of the false Archons, and the real ones as given by Mr Clinton in the *Fasti Hellenici*.

B.C.	Ψηφίσματα, κ.τ.λ.	*True Archon.*	*False Archon.*
346	Decree about the oaths—ch. 29. Decree of Callisthenes—ch. 37.	Themistocles. — Archias.	Mnesiphilus.
344	Decree of Eubulus—ch. 73. Letter of Philip—ch. 77.	Lyciscus.	Neocles.
340	Trierarchic law—ch. 105.		Polycles.
339	Spring Pylaea—ch. 154. Decree about the Amphissaei	Theophrastus.	Mnesitheides.
338	Spring Pylæa Invitation to Philip by the Amphictyons	Lysimachus.	Mnesitheides.
	Philip's letter—ch. 157.		Hieropythes.
	Two Athenian decrees—ch. 164 Decree of Demosthenes, ch. 181	Charondas.	Nausicles.
337	Decree of Aristonicus—ch. 84.	Charondas.	Charondas,
	Decree of Ctesiphon—ch. 119. Decree of Aeschines—ch. 54.	Phrynichus.	Hegemon. Euthycles. Charondas.

The chronology given in these documents is no less erroneous. Let us take a summary of the events which occurred in the year 346 B.C. and we shall see the falsity of the dates given in the first decree. The embassy of ten returned from Macedonia in the beginning of Elaphebolion, and the Athenians decreed peace with Philip on the 19th of that month. The people placed the management of affairs in the hands of the Senate, and Demosthenes, being a senator, passed a decree on the 3rd of Munychion, "that the embassy should set out at once, and administer the oaths to Philip." [This embassy *ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους* is the subject of Demosthenes' and Aeschines' speeches *De Falsâ Legatione.*] Now the date given in the *ψήφισμα*, quoted ch. 29, is the last day of Hecatomboeon, *not* the 3rd of Munychion.

Our space will not permit us to give an abstract of all the arguments used by Mr Newman in the article we are quoting, by which he proves the spuriousness of these documents. His reasoning about the chronology is just as satisfactory in each case as in the one we have extracted. He also observes that many words are found throughout, which none but later writers would have chosen, such as *παρεύρεσις*, *ναύαρχος*, *πλοῖα* for *ναῦς*, *πρεσβευταί*, &c.

He conceives, with great probability, that the writer of these documents, whoever he was, compiled them from the *De Coronâ* alone, and did not refer to the *Παραπρεσβεία* or any other speeches of Demosthenes. Hence the mistakes in the chronology and omission of many important facts. See *Class. Museum*, I. Art. 12; Thirlwall's *Greece*, Vol. VI. ch. 164; Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, Vol. II. p. 356.

APPENDIX B.

MR MITCHELL'S TRANSLATION OF DEMOSTHENES DE CORONA, Ch. 258—261. Σὺ δ' ὁ σεμνός, &c.

"Turn we now to our man of dignity,—to him who considers others as worthy only of the spittle of his mouth, and beg him to compare his fortunes with mine. (*Addresses himself to Aeschines.*) Born and bred in veriest poverty, your earliest years found you attached to a mean school, of which your father was the preceptor. To prepare the ink, to sponge the benches, and to sweep the school-room; such were your occupations—occupations befitting a menial, but unworthy a freeman's son. Arrived at manhood, you became your mother's aid; as she performed her stock of initiatory rites, you read the mystic formulae, and bore a part in all the subsequent operations. At night it was your business to clothe the candidates in skins of fawn, to pour them out huge cups of wine, to wash them with the lustral water, to cleanse their skin with loam and bran; and the holy rites thus done, to raise them up and bid them cry,

(*Mimics*) My bane I have fled,
And my bliss I have sped:

none, as was your boast, giving forth the holy shout with such a potent voice as yourself. (*Turns to the dicasts or bystanders.*) Verily, I can believe it! for who that hears those powerful tones of declamation in which he now indulges, can for a moment doubt that his religious exclamations were pre-eminently grand? (*To Aeschines.*) The day found you a different employment. You had then to conduct your noble troop through the public streets, their heads crowned with fennel and with

poplar leaves, while yourself were seen—now pressing the copper-red serpents—now elevating them above your head—now shouting 'Evoi Saboi'—now raising a dance to the words 'Hyes Attes, Attes Hyes,' while all the crones and beldames of the quarter honoured you with the pompous titles of exarch, chief-conductor, chest-carrier, fan-bearer; gingerbread and cake and twisted bun meantime falling plentifully upon you as the rewards of your pious labours. Happy and distinguished lot! who can think it were his own, and, so thinking, not deem himself supremely blest?"

[This translation is, however, not unfairly criticised in one of C. R. Kennedy's notes to the passage.]

APPENDIX C.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE LIFE AND PUBLIC CAREER OF AESCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES.

	B.C.	OLYMP.
Aeschines born	389	98
Demosthenes born	385	
Philip of Macedon born	383	99. 2
Demosthenes loses his father, and is placed under the care of three guardians	378	100. 3
Battle of Leuctra	371	102. 1
Demosthenes comes of age, and prosecutes his guardians	366	103. 3
Speech of Demosthenes against Aphobus	364	104. 1
Battle of Mantinaea, and death of Epaminondas. (Aeschines distinguishes himself in this battle.)	362	104
Demosthenes' first action against Meidias	361	104
Accession of Philip to the throne of Macedon. (Commencement of the Social and Sacred Wars)	359	105. 2
The Phocians seize Delphi and its treasures	357	
Birth of Alexander—Demosthenes enters on his political life	356	106. 1
Speeches against Leptines and Androtion	355	
Speeches against the Euboean Expedition, and περὶ Συμμοριῶν—Battle of Tamynae, where Aeschines greatly distinguishes himself, and is chosen to carry home the news of the victory, and rewarded by the Athenians with a crown	354	
Speech of Demosthenes against Timocrates, and for the Megalopolitans	353	

	B.C.	OLYMP.
Speech against Aristocrates—First Philippic .	352, 1.	107. 1
The Olynthiac Orations	349	
Capture of Olynthus by Philip—Aeschines becomes a strong advocate for warlike measures against Philip	348	108. 1
Aeschines sent along with Demosthenes as one of the ten ambassadors to negotiate a peace with Philip—Becomes the opponent of Demosthenes	347	
Return of the first Embassy—Second Embassy, ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, of which Aeschines forms one—Speech of Demosthenes "De Pace" .	346	
Aeschinis κατὰ Τιμάρχου	345	
Second Philippic	344	109. 1
Speech de Halonneso—Demosthenes accuses Aeschines of treachery during the Second Embassy to Philip—The speeches of both περὶ παραπρεσβείας—Speech of Demosthenes περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερσονήσῳ	342	
Expedition of Athens to Euboea on the motion of Demosthenes—Expulsion of the tyrants of Oreus and Eretria—Public thanks voted to Demosthenes—Third Philippic . . .	341	109. 4
Philip declares war against Athens—publishes his manifesto—attacks Byzantium—Trierarchic Law of Demosthenes—The fourth Philippic	340	110. 1
Philip invades the Scythians: defeat by the Thracian Triballi—Aeschines goes as representative of Athens to the Amphictyonic meeting, and instigates the Amphictyons against Amphissa—Demosthenes negotiates an alliance with Thebes	339	
Demosthenes honoured with a third vote of thanks—Battle of Chaeronea—Demosthenes delivers the funeral oration over the slain .	338	
Ctesiphon proposes the public presentation of		

	B.C.	OLYMP.
a crown to Demosthenes—Aeschines indicts Ctesiphon for illegality	337	
Assassination of Philip	336	111. 1
Alexander destroys Thebes, and demands the Athenian orators	335	
Alexander crosses the Hellespont—Battle of the Granicus	334	
Battle of Issus	333	
Siege of Tyre	332	112. 1
Battle of Arbela—Agis defeated by Antipater	331	
Death of Darius—Aeschines brings forward his indictment against Ctesiphon which has been lying dormant for seven years—"Battle of the Orators"—Aeschines being defeated, retires to Asia Minor	330	
Harpalus comes to Athens from Babylon .	325	113. 4
Demosthenes imprisoned on a charge of bribery—escapes to Troezen	324	114. 1
Death of Alexander—Demosthenes' triumphant return to Athens—Aeschines settles at Rhodes	323	
Antipater demands the popular leaders—Demosthenes takes poison—Death of Aristotle	322	
Death of Phocion	317	115. 4
Death of Aeschines in Samos, whither he had retired from Rhodes	314	116. 3

N.B.—This table has been composed from that of Mr Drake, with additions from Whiston, Kennedy, and Grote.

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